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Selling the African Wilds: A History of the Safari Tourism Industry in East Africa, 1900-1939

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Selling the African Wilds: A History of the Safari Tourism Industry in East Africa, 1900-1939

by

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Dedication

For Brittney

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Selling the African Wilds: A History of the Safari Tourism Industry in East Africa, 1900-1939

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This dissertation examines the rise and development of the safari tourism industry in the British East Africa Protectorate (later Kenya) between 1900 and 1939. It shows how the establishment of British rule and the introduction of modern transportation technology made East Africa accessible and gradually transformed the region into a tourist attraction of great economic value that would come to be managed by imperial powers, advertised in a globalized marketplace, and visited by tourists who desired to hunt, photograph, and observe East Africa's abundant wildlife on an adventure known as the "safari." It became a lucrative business. Numerous outfitters, safari and travel companies, guides, and other safari workers entered the business and helped to make the industry a model of its kind in Africa. As the safari trade expanded and animal populations came under pressure, however, this industry began to adopt new, eco-friendly forms of wildlife tourism that could preserve the main elements of the tourist safari while reducing its toll on wildlife populations, a shift exemplified by the introduction of motorized tours, photographic and filmmaking safaris, and the quest to establish national parks.

The research presented in this study, drawn from archival collections across three continents, demonstrates that the four decades between 1900 and 1939 became a crucial phase in the development of safari tourism in Kenya. During this time, safari tourism became a leading sector of the regional economy and gave rise to a highly developed commercial and

institutional infrastructure that laid the foundations of modern wildlife tourism in Kenya. At the same time, the safari industry became a product of the British Empire, shaped by the laws, institutions, and attitudes of colonial rule. While the introduction of British rule and the arrival of British colonists promoted tourist development, built roads and railways, ensured a degree of security demanded by travelers, and linked foreign tourists with Africa, it also relegated indigenous Africans to subordinate positions in the industry, and forcibly relocated African settlements to make way for parks and tourist spaces. This meant that the prerogatives of the tourism industry often clashed with indigenous ideas of land use and economic management, instead serving the interests of the British community in Kenya who owned and controlled the trade. Thus, the development of safari tourism under the aegis of the British colonial state aided the material development of the industry, but also created economic, social, and racial inequalities that remain evident to the present day.

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Introduction

One of the grandest and most pristine wilderness areas in the world at the dawn of the twentieth century lay in a region of equatorial eastern Africa encompassing the countries known today as Kenya and Tanganyika.[1] A generation earlier this region of the continent had been largely unknown to Europeans and mostly unexplored. Its indigenous inhabitants concentrated themselves mainly along the coast and in the rich agricultural regions, but a few villages stretched out in sporadic intervals into the bush and plains where wildlife roamed freely. Arab and African caravans had plied the region for centuries in search of ivory and slaves. Explorers and missionaries had begun to arrive on the vanguard of the imperial presence in Africa. European leaders, meanwhile, laid plans for colonization, often as much to forestall imperial rivals as to gain territory for its own sake. Yet the wilder land in the interior of eastern Africa remained largely unaffected by colonial ambitions until the end of the nineteenth century. Some visitors thought they had discovered a remnant of the Pleistocene, an idyllic paradise of wild and prehistoric fauna undisturbed by the encroachments of modern industrial civilization. Nearly everywhere, it seemed, beautiful and otherworldly wild animals roamed in teeming thousands across a land blessed with a delightful climate and extraordinary topographical diversity, from stretching plains and park-like scenery to dense forests and jagged mountain peaks. Hardly any early witness to the wilds of eastern Africa lifted pen from paper without expressing rapturous awe at this magnificent spectacle.

After 1900 this vast zoological garden was gradually transformed into an attraction of great economic value that would come to be managed by imperial powers, advertised in a globalized marketplace, and visited as a tourist destination by wealthy sportsmen and tourists

[1] For reasons of clarity and brevity, this Introduction uses the familiar term Kenya to describe the country under discussion, with the recognition that from 1895 to 1920 the same territory was known as the British East Africa Protectorate.

traveling mainly from the West. What began as a trickle of visitors around the turn of the century soon became a flood. Sportsmen and big-game hunters made haste to enjoy, before it was too late, a country that was billed as one of the last great virgin game lands on earth – a source of beauty and adventure, a testing ground for masculine endeavor, and increasingly a fashion among the wealthy elites of the world. Others visited purely for aesthetic reasons, to observe and to photograph, or to study the region's natural history. A marvelous natural spectacle of this kind held strong appeal for European sightseers and visitors, whose cultural and literary exposure to the ideas of the Romantic Movement predisposed them to find in the natural world a source of beauty, solitude, and the sublime, as well as a means of escaping from the oppressive industrial scenes that seemed to be overtaking the "civilized" Western world.

Outsiders began to arrive in numbers following the establishment of British and German colonial administrations in the 1880s and 1890s. Explorers, military officers, colonial administrators, officials, sportsmen, settlers, merchants, and missionaries experienced the delights and dangers of this newly colonized land and began to disseminate knowledge of the region to foreigners overseas. By the turn of the century, the region had been carved up into a German sphere encompassing Tanganyika (now mainland Tanzania), and a British sphere that included the Protectorates of British East Africa (now Kenya) and Uganda. The colonial ventures that followed and the region's steadily growing popularity as a tourist destination meant that, by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, the country that became Kenya was crisscrossed by railways and roads, dotted with hotels and tourist enterprises, and visited by thousands of foreign tourists who came to hunt, photograph, and observe the region's abundant wildlife on an adventure known as the "safari." This dissertation examines how East Africa was transformed, in the space of fifty years, from a largely unknown and unexplored land into a leading destination for wildlife tourism in Africa.

Figure 1: Political map of modern Kenya.[2]

[2] Perry-Castaneda Library Map Collection. Although this map dates to 1988, the boundaries and place names are largely the same as they were in the colonial age between 1900 and 1939.

* * *

Combining the ambiguous terms "safari" and "tourism" into a single phrase and making them the subject of historical enquiry demands that some attempt be made from the outset to explain what exactly is meant by the term "safari tourism." "Safari" is a Swahili word derived from the Arabic verb *safara,* which means to unveil, or to discover, or to enter upon a journey. The related Arabic noun *safariya* means to undertake a voyage or expedition. Beyond its linguistic origins, the term held a special connection to East Africa because of the necessity of traveling by foot, a method of overland travel required by the presence of tsetse fly, the vector of *African trypanosomiasis,* or "sleeping sickness," which afflicted load-bearing animals and made it imperative to use human porters. The first use of "safari" in English appears in an article written in 1859 by the English explorer Richard Burton in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.[3] Burton, like most English writers in the nineteenth century, used the term according to its Swahili meaning, to refer to any caravan or expedition traveling in East Africa. David Livingstone employed the same usage throughout the journals he kept in the 1870s.[4] British colonial administrators even adopted this usage well into the twentieth century to describe their official administrative tours around the colony.

The shift in the meaning of "safari" to its present usage as a label for sporting expeditions coincided with the rise of the tourist safari and in fact reinforced its emergence as an identifiable tourist pursuit. Sportsmen who arrived in East Africa around the turn of the century adopted the term used by locals to describe their extended hunting journeys into the field, often placing the word in italics or quotation marks and defining it for their English-

[3] R.F. Burton, "Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* Vol. 29, No. XV (1859), p. 410.

[4] David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa: From Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Five to His Death* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1875). See, for example, page 71.

speaking readers.[5] Gradually it became the chosen name for the new variety of sport-hunting expedition in Africa.[6] The safari itself was, then, a transcultural innovation that combined African and Arab travel methods of travel with European notions of the hunt.[7] It can fairly be said that "safari" entered the lexicon in 1908, when Abel Chapman, a prominent writer and American tourist, "venture[d] to introduce it to our common language" in one of the first books published by a major press to use the word in its title: *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (1908).[8] Within two years, knowledge of the word spread far and wide as a result of the unprecedented publicity that surrounded Theodore Roosevelt's safari in 1909-10.

Most *visiting* sportsmen in East Africa described themselves as tourists and recognized their status as such.[9] Tourism is, of course, a somewhat ambiguous term whose exact parameters are still debated, but most scholars accept a general definition along the lines of the one given by Eric Zuelow in his survey of modern tourism: "travel in pursuit of pleasure and

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[5] See, for example, Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), p. 131. Churchill had a chapter entitled "On Safari" that equated it to the Boer going "on trek," although he generally used it to describe hunting expeditions.

[6] The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that "safari" was originally defined as "a party or caravan undertaking an extensive cross-country expedition on foot for hunting or scientific research, typically in an African country (originally in East Africa)." "safari, n." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. June 2013. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/Entry/169670?result=1&rskey=52heBw& (accessed July 09, 2013).

[7] This point is strongly emphasized by Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), pp. 113-137. The concept of "transculturation" was originally introduced in the context of British colonial interactions by Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1-11.

[8] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. v.

[9] R.J. Cunninghame, the most famous professional safari guide of the early twentieth century, called visiting big-game hunters "tourists" in 1912. Lord Cranworth, a prominent settler and writer, commented the same year that "big game shooting" was a great inducement to "tourist sportsmen." Innumerable examples could be repeated to reinforce the claim that participants in the East African safari from the beginning of the century had no doubt that their enterprise was a form of modern tourism. See H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 143; and Lord Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making. Or Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), p. 298.

an escape from everyday realities."[10] "Safari tourism" is, in this broad sense, part of a very old human practice of pleasure travel that traces back thousands of years, encompassing the activities of Greeks and Romans, the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, and perhaps even the religious pilgrimages of the Middle Ages, to name only several antecedents. Yet the adjective "safari" gives it a narrower meaning. "Safari tourism," as defined in this dissertation, refers broadly to the practice of traveling for pleasure through the wilds of Africa for the purposes of hunting, photographing, or observing wildlife and scenery. It therefore follows that the "safari tourism industry" refers to the collection of commercial enterprises, professional bodies, and individuals that drew their main business from the provision of services to tourists engaged in safari travel – although, as we shall see, safari clientele included museum and scientific expeditions as well as film producers, not just conventional tourists.

This dissertation examines the rise and development of Kenya's safari tourism industry during the formative years of its development between 1900 and 1939. Geographically, the focus of this study lies mainly in the country that became Kenya, where the safari industry emerged earliest and developed most fully. In practice, however, the "boundaries" of enquiry are extended outward to include areas of the region where the Kenya-based (usually Nairobi-based) industry was active, which meant especially northern Tanganyika (particularly after 1920), and occasionally the borderlands of the neighboring territories of Uganda, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somaliland. The history of this industry over the first four decades of the twentieth century emphasizes in particular the transition that occurred from the elite hunting expeditions that predominated at the beginning of the century to newer forms of safari tourism that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, including motorized tours, photographic and filmmaking safaris, and the quest (initiated but not quite realized in this period) to establish national parks

[10] Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 9.

in East Africa. Ultimately, owing to its success, the development of the safari tourism industry during the colonial age shaped East Africa's landscape, intensified economic and cultural interactions between distant locales, and influenced British colonial policy on conservation, land use, and economic development.

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Several principal arguments unite the themes of this study. The first is that the safari tourism industry emerged earlier and grew much larger during this period than previous scholars of the subject have appreciated. While many writers and scholars have been aware of Kenya's safari tourism industry and made reference to it in their writings, no scholar until now has produced a dedicated historical study that quantifies the value of the safari industry to the East African regional economy.[11] The nearest attempt to an "economic" history of tourism in colonial Kenya is made in a 1970 book by the Kenyan geographer Dr. Joseph Ouma. Despite a title purporting to survey the period beginning in 1900, Ouma devotes a mere three paragraphs to the period before 1938, calling it the "period of indifference," when "Europe was too poor to afford much money for pleasure-travel and the sea journey to East Africa was long and expensive." Transportation and accommodations facilities could not satisfy "anything more than a trickle of adventurous visitors," he concluded. "The East African economy was infantile and weak, while public and private institutions for tourist promotion were virtually non-existent."[12] Such is the state of the historiography that the only previous "economic" study

[11] There are, of course, innumerable popular histories of the early East African safari that recognize it as a tourism industry, but such books usually provide little in the way of economic analysis. See especially Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London, 1990); and Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999). Cameron is a professional writer (but not an historian). Herne is a former professional hunter who holds firsthand experience and knew many of the characters in his book.

[12] Joseph P.B.M. Ouma, *Evolution of Tourism in East Africa, 1900-2000* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1970). The peculiar chronology attached to this book was probably imposed by the publisher.

of Kenya's tourism industry during the colonial age dismisses in three paragraphs a subject and chronological period that occupies over 500 pages of the present dissertation.

The conclusions presented in this dissertation, based on original research conducted in archives across three continents, drastically revise the claims made by Ouma and make an important first contribution on the economic history of the safari trade. This study demonstrates that the safari industry emerged shortly after the turn of the century and became the basis of a profitable tourism industry that advertised internationally, adopted the latest methods in business management and organization, and ultimately became a leading sector of the East African colonial economy. Charting the economic significance of the safari industry helps to emphasize its impact on economic and social life in East Africa, its prominence in the culture and mythology of the West, and its power to sway policy on hunting, conservation, and the environment.

The growth of the safari industry did not occur gradually; rather, it exploded in a sudden upsurge of activity shortly after the turn of the century, made possible in particular by the construction of the Uganda Railway across the hinterland of Kenya. After 1900, the number of visiting hunters purchasing licenses and going on safari grew enormously, more than doubling every five years until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Only four visitors took out hunting licenses in 1899, the first year records were kept. The number of visiting hunters rose to 98 in 1904, to 188 in 1909, and to a pre-war peak of 536 in 1912. Altogether, between 1899 and 1914, over 2,500 visitors purchased hunting licenses in Kenya, most of them taking lengthy safaris of several months that employed hundreds of men and typically ranged in cost from £300 to £1,000 each at a time when a Ford motor car could be purchased in Nairobi for about £200 (*after* comparatively high shipping costs and customs duties). A few safaris, such as the one taken by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909-10, reached many

times this expense, his being estimated to have cost between £12,000 and £17,000 – equivalent to between approximately USD $1,500,000 and $2,160,000 today.[13]

Expenditures on safaris were not included in official trade statistics, but their value grew so large that in some years they approached the total value of the annual domestic exports from the British East Africa Protectorate. Every year from 1903 to 1914 the safari trade exceeded the value of one-third of domestic exports, and in five years it equaled two-thirds or greater. During the peak pre-war years from 1910 to 1914, just after the Roosevelt safari, visiting hunters spent an estimated £190,000 to £220,000 per year on safaris.[14] Altogether, the research presented in this dissertation indicates that tourist safaris between 1900 and 1914 accounted for as much as £1,400,000 of economic activity, much of this sum spent in Kenya, a figure equivalent to roughly USD $180,000,000 in 2015. In an underdeveloped colonial economy that consisted primarily of subsidence trade and agriculture in the early years of the twentieth century, this represented a tremendous economic windfall.[15] It is hardly surprising, given these figures, that Abel Chapman could comment in 1908 that wildlife was "a chief asset of our East African colony," and the big-game hunter "its most profitable customer."[16]

The rapid growth of the safari trade in terms of the number of visitors and their expenditures on safari was accompanied by a thoroughgoing development of the commercial, institutional, and social apparatus of the industry. It became a highly organized and

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[13] The figures given in this paragraph are estimates drawn from the research presented in Chapter 4: "Measuring the Safari Trade, 1900-1914."

[14] By comparison, the annual domestic exports during these years stood at £190,668 (1910-11), £276,480 (1911-12), £333,670 (1912-13), and £421,084 (1913-14).

[15] See Chapter 4. The numbers of visiting hunters are drawn from the sale of hunting licenses by the Game Department of British East Africa. The lengths and values of safaris are drawn from a variety of first-hand accounts, guidebooks, and safari company handbooks. Currency conversion to 2015 USD was computed using the currency calculator created by Eric Nye (University of Wyoming) on the basis of historical currency data, entitled "Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency," <http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.

[16] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 4.

professional business. Early visitors already benefited from the introduction of steamships and harbors, railways and roads, hotels and supply stores, and a variety of outfitting companies that sprang up in the young British territory and aided travel to the country at a time when most of Africa was comparatively undeveloped. Success begat further success. The inflow of wealthy tourists created a market for further commercial enterprises that sought to cater to visitors by offering an ever-greater array of safari services. By 1905, the first dedicated, all-inclusive safari company was established in Nairobi, opened a branch office in London, and began advertising internationally. The institution of the "white hunter," or safari guide, took shape and acquired its own professional ethos. Indigenous Africans were enlisted on an immense scale to provide the essential labor upon which all safaris depended. Hotels proliferated throughout the territory. Firearms and ammunition sellers opened their doors in Nairobi and conducted a robust business. Supply stores expanded into the safari trade to such an extent that it became common for guidebooks and safari advertisements to inform clients that everything needed on safari could be obtained locally at less expense than overseas. Above all, the British authorities, seeking to manage this great natural endowment of wildlife and nature from which financial returns accrued, established game regulations – the framework of conservation policy – that privileged upper-class hunters in general and visiting sportsmen in particular.

After an interruption during the First World War between 1914 and 1918, the safari industry continued to expand in the 1920s and 1930s, but its growth was inflected in different ways. The sale of hunting licenses fell significantly below pre-1914 levels and was slow to recover. In the meantime, however, significant new areas of growth emerged to compensate for the decline of traditional hunting safaris. The advent of the automobile into common use and the rapid improvement of cameras and photographic technology provided new avenues for the tourist to enjoy the wilds of East Africa. Already in this period, "hunting with a camera"

began to supplant hunting with a rifle and was catered to expressly by virtually every safari company in Kenya.[17] By the late 1920s, new enterprises expanded the safari trade yet further to include more informal kinds of game-viewing and motorized tours, including short, inexpensive excursions offered by the celebrated Outspan Hotel and its adjunct, Treetops, constructed in 1932, both precursors to the popular safari lodges that predominated in later years.[18] The famous British travel company, Thomas Cook and Son, citing an "increase of tourist traffic which led to this development," established branch offices in Nairobi and Mombasa in the early 1930s, signaling that the future of the safari trade would consist increasingly of the budget-conscious traveler keen to sample the scenes of Africa without the expense of the traditional hunting safari.[19] At the same time, the 1920s and 1930s saw an influx of royalty, celebrities, plutocrats, and big-spending filmmaking productions that provided invaluable publicity and shored up the profits of the safari industry despite the reduced number of hunters.[20]

Although the volume and economic value of the safari trade is more difficult to trace in the interwar years,[21] a leading professional association estimated in the 1930s that "over a period of years," an annual sum of between £150,000 and £200,000 was spent to hunt and

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[17] On the advent of the photographic safari, See Chapter 6.

[18] On the expansion of safari services, see Chapter 7.

[19] Thomas Cook & Son, *Travel in East Africa: Cook's Handbook for Kenya Colony, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1936), p. 5.

[20] See Chapter 8.

[21] Before 1914, virtually all safari tourists took out hunting licenses and stayed in the field for certain lengths of time owing to the slow pace of travel by foot. After 1918, however, the kinds and costs of safaris diverged very considerably (from quick motorized tours to lavish, multi-month luxury safaris) and cannot be measured by reference to hunting license statistics alone, making it difficult to quantify the volume and expenditures of tourists in the 1920s and 1930s with extant historical records. The proxy for measuring the safari trade before 1914 (i.e. hunting licenses taken out by visitors) ceases to become a viable proxy after 1918 owing to the expansion of the kinds of non-hunting safaris undertaken. For more on this issue, see Chapter 7.

photograph wildlife on safari in East Africa.[22] One safari company could show that in one year its clients had spent £70,000, and it was estimated that each safari party spent between £1,000 and £4,000. These totals, compiled by the leaders of high-end safari companies, would have been even higher if they included statistics of casual tourists going on short, informal, motorized excursions offered by such enterprises as the Outspan Hotel and Thomas Cook. Despite the uneven postwar recovery from 1918 through the 1920s, and despite the global depression that overshadowed the entire decade of the 1930s, Kenya's safari industry maintained robust business and advanced considerably in its commercial, professional, and institutional organization.

* * *

The second principal argument of this dissertation is that Kenya's safari tourism industry was a product of the British Empire, infused with the attitudes and imagery of empire, facilitated by imperial networks of trade and transportation, and shaped by the social, racial, political, and economic hierarchies that characterized the British Empire in Africa. Empire influenced the development of wildlife tourism in Kenya no less than wildlife tourism shaped the reputation and culture of colonial Kenya. This is not to grant undue credit to empire for "developing" allegedly "backwards" parts of the globe. But taking a long-term perspective, considering the impact of new technologies on the industry, and given that most tourists hailed from the West, the establishment of British rule and the early arrival of white settlers hastened the creation of certain conditions that were necessary for a tourism industry to develop.

Empire had several principal effects on the historical development of the safari tourism industry in Kenya. First, the British colonial state fostered and maintained a far-reaching revolution in transportation technology and infrastructure required for tourist travel. Britain's

[22] Minutes of a Meeting of a Sub-Committee of the EAPHA appointed to draft a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary on Game Preservation, 30 April 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.

East African territories had already been made accessible to travelers by the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, the advent of steamships and luxury passenger travel, and the expansion of imperial trade routes upon which the steamships plied. By 1902, the British completed the lavishly expensive Uganda Railway (largely to uphold strategic interests), which established a trunk line through the heart of Kenya and provided for the first time a quick and easy means of travel from Mombasa on the coast to the game-rich highlands around Nairobi. Henceforward, tourists could reach Kenya's game lands by steam the whole way, a mere three weeks' journey from Europe followed by several days aboard a passenger train. The military, administrative, and economic needs of the colony soon compelled the British to construct a network of navigable roads throughout the colony as well, reducing the burdens of caravan travel, and later allowing for widespread use of the automobile. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the British began a concerted project to connect Kenya with Britain via its imperial air routes under the aegis of Imperial Airways and a selection of regional carriers that offered charter as well as commercial flights, both within East Africa and to countries overseas. These transportation advancements, pursued for the sake of imperial development and global trade, effectively connected Kenya to the world and made it a viable destination for tourist travel.

Second, the establishment of British rule ensured a certain degree of security demanded by Western travelers. From the 1890s to 1914 (and sporadically thereafter), the British undertook a series of punitive "pacification" campaigns that aimed to quell indigenous resistance, end tribal raiding, and assert British authority over the Kenyan population. The use of force was accompanied by the introduction of laws familiar to Westerners. Although British laws and the use of force often provoked further indigenous hostility, they also kept a lid on indiscriminate raiding and reassured tourists that safari parties could travel roads and visit remote areas without encountering the kind of local hostility that had beset European explorers

and other outsiders during the nineteenth century (and, to an extent, in other parts of Africa into the twentieth century).

Third, as part of the extension of administrative control, the British colonial state introduced comprehensive game regulations in 1900 and provided the means to enforce them through the institution of the colonial game department. This early push to preserve wild animals, taken before human development had encroached upon game lands, resulted from a German and British initiative to hold a conference and enact continent-wide regulations to prevent the wildlife of eastern Africa from getting "shot out" as had happened in southern Africa and in other parts of the world. In general, the early wildlife policies put into force in colonial Kenya were framed according to elite and aristocratic notions of "sportsmanship" and game management. As such, the laws tended to privilege elite visiting sportsmen on the presumption that such individuals, as wealthy members of the upper classes, would abide by gentlemanly codes of "sport" and bring revenue to the colony with their luxury hunts. The resulting regulations, by restricting hunting activity and establishing several wildlife reserves, ensured that Kenya's natural endowments of wildlife and nature would be preserved as a valuable natural resource for the future enjoyment of tourists. Over the years these regulations were amended many times over, usually at the behest of those involved in the safari industry, often for the purpose of improving Kenya as a destination for hunting and wildlife tourism, from which so much of the colony's economic activity derived.

A fourth and less obvious way in which empire influenced the development of safari tourism involved the arrival of a sizable population of white settlers after 1900. Almost as soon as land in East Africa fell under British rule, early travelers began to extol the region as a potential destination for British colonists owing to its marvelous climate, seemingly fertile soil, and abundant opportunities for sport that might prove attractive to English gentlemen who desired the kind of "country" life that was beginning to disappear in Britain. Sir Charles Eliot,

the Governor of the British East Africa Protectorate (later Kenya), proclaimed in 1903 that "the main object of our policy and legislation must be to found a white colony."[23] The same year, Lord Delamere wrote a series of letters from which germinated the idea of Kenya as a "white man's country," a belief shared for many years by members of the settler community.[24] Although their numbers never grew large (growing to 21,000 by 1939[25]), white settlers held an outsized influence in the politics and social life of the colony.

White settlement, an outgrowth of imperial policy and Kenya's connection to the wider British world, had numerous effects on the development of safari tourism. The presence of so many white settlers, many from the British upper classes, increased the availability of services desired by Western tourists, including hotels, outfitters, supply stores, taxidermists, clubs, and other local enterprises. Because white settlers owned and operated most of the safari companies and guided the predominantly Western clients, they became the leaders of the industry and shaped its directions. As members of the governing race, their interests were well represented in law and economic arrangements, conferring numerous advantages over the indigenous population, and giving settlers influence over colonial policy concerning tourism and wildlife conservation. For similar reasons, white settlers in the safari industry possessed greater connections and familiarity with Europe and North America, from which most tourists hailed, and were better placed to use personal, cultural, and business connections to publicize the tourist industry to potential clients overseas. The ubiquity of whites in the ownership and management of Kenyan tourism enterprises owed partly to the privileged social and legal status

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[23] Elspeth Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya* (London: Longmans, Green, 1948), p. 9.
[24] Lord Delamere, "White Man's Country, 1903," Robert O. Collins (ed.), *Eastern African History: Vol. II of African History: Text and Readings,* African History in Documents (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1990), pp. 150-53. See also Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1935).
[25] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), p. 1.

they enjoyed in colonial Kenya, partly to the capital – and *access* to capital – possessed by the individuals concerned, and partly to the simple fact that many Western tourists visiting Kenya during the colonial age preferred to have their prejudices comforted by the knowledge that their guides, go-betweens, and protectors on safari would be white.

The figure of the "white hunter" personified the outsized role of whites in Kenya's safari tourism industry. This term, though originally descriptive and frequently mythologized by Hollywood, became the preferred label for the safari guide from 1908 until the 1950s, used as such by clients and guides as well as writers, game wardens, and professional associations.[26] White hunters were almost invariably drawn from Kenya's population of white settlers and this conferred numerous advantages to the safari industry. A sizable population of white settlers, drawn mainly from the ranks of Britain's gentry and aristocracy, socially upper class but economically on the margins and in search of supplementary income, provided an ideal reserve of the "right types" of men needed to occupy a safari trade that catered to wealthy foreign elites. Their permanent residence in Kenya, usually on farms near the game lands of the highlands, made many white settlers experts at bush-craft, tracking, and shooting under the unique demands of the country. They possessed familial and social relations overseas with the class of tourists who could afford safari trips to Africa. They felt at home with princes and aristocrats no less than with self-made American magnates. Being farmers and tradesmen, they possessed other forms of income to tide them through the off seasons when the safari business became slow. Without a population of white settlers, without the marginal profits of early East African agriculture that compelled them to seek supplementary forms of income, and without

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[26] See Chapter 1. The meaning, usages, and historical significance of the "white hunter" is discussed at greater length in my unpublished article manuscript, "Rethinking the White Hunter: Professional Safari Guides in East Africa's Tourism Industry," under revision for the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*.

the upper-class connections these individuals often possessed, it is hard to imagine the region's safari industry emerging so early or achieving such marked growth.

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These statements, though necessary as a prelude to the study of an industry and its leaders, must not obscure a fundamental fact of the safari industry that applies from the beginning to the end of colonial rule in Kenya. Indigenous Africans were the unsung heroes of the safari industry and constituted the essential labor force upon which it relied. This insight builds upon the scholarship of Edward Steinhart, who traces in detail the history of indigenous hunting in Kenya. In a series of articles and a major book, *Black Poachers, White Hunters,* Steinhart shows how Kenyans, despite the social exclusions and prejudice they endured under colonial rule, drew upon longstanding indigenous hunting traditions that allowed them to carve out spheres of activity and exert a decisive influence on the practices of hunting in British colonial Kenya, including on the tourist safari. Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with the industry itself and can only devote limited space to the experiences of indigenous Africans, it nevertheless strives to lend substance to Steinhart's scholarship by illuminating in greater detail than hitherto the nature of the safari industry, the trajectory of its development, and the activities it pursued between 1900 and 1939.

That is to say, whereas Steinhart's scholarship concentrates primarily upon the social and cultural *influences* that Africans exerted on "new" modes of colonial hunting (including the tourist safari), this dissertation is much more interested in the commercial and occupational roles Africans fulfilled as professional labor in an industry that catered to foreign tourists.[27] No safari got out of Nairobi without the labor and contributions of indigenous Africans, who fulfilled a variety of essential roles as guides, trackers, skinners, porters, cooks, guards, drivers,

[27] See especially: Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006); and idem., "Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya," *Journal of African History,* Vol. 30 (1989), pp. 247-264.

servants, camp attendants, and general assistants. Despite working for paltry salaries and receiving very little of the profits, many indigenous Africans were professionals in the full sense of the word, working in the industry their entire lives. Their skill in the bush and knowledge of the country's geography were often unmatched. Many of them understood the habits of animals and could follow a faint trail through bush with a precision that left their white counterparts wiping their brows in amazement. African safari workers also possessed special abilities to negotiate with remote tribes that looked upon Westerners with suspicion. They worked in many subsidiary industries that catered to tourists, including hotels, resorts, railways, shipping companies, outfitters, suppliers, the game departments, and eventually the national parks. The contributions of indigenous Africans to the everyday operations of the safari industry effectively subsidized and supported the economic viability of Kenya's safari tourism industry, which could not have otherwise provided such an extensive array of services at anywhere near the same cost.

The fact that indigenous Africans provided such essential labor for the safari industry but received so little of the profit and even less recognition resulted from the social, economic, and legal inequalities of empire, which relegated Africans to second-class status. The safari industry was, at its core, an industry created by white men for white men, and it was white men who enjoyed virtually all of the profits of the trade. Not only were Africans paid low wages for unglamorous work; they were, in general, prohibited from hunting themselves by the game laws of colonial Kenya. In certain parts of the colony, tribes and settlements were relocated to make way for game reserves and national parks, while others saw their land "alienated" to white settlers, who received land grants and sales on special terms arranged by government. The result was that during the colonial age and even long after independence, many of the prime game areas of Kenya were either enshrined within reserves and permanent national parks where Western tourism companies predominated, or set aside on ranches and "conservancies"

owned mainly by white colonists. These policies created a keen sense of grievance among Kenyans and caused many to be skeptical of conservation projects long after independence. Thus, although empire had a profound influence on the material development of tourism and accelerated the introduction of modern infrastructure, this development was framed in ways that privileged certain racial and social groups while disenfranchising and exploiting others, creating legacies that remain with us still today.

Steinhart makes a point vis-à-vis indigenous Africans that is broadly applicable to many others who participated in hunting in colonial Kenya, soldiers and settlers as well as guides and tourist hunters. This dissertation's conclusions about the "imperial" character of Kenya's safari trade build upon and extend the themes of a large body of historical writing that examines the cultural attitudes and social arrangements of hunting in the British Empire, a field that predated Steinhart but found expression in his work. In the 1970s and 1980s, historians began to develop the theme that hunting was connected to social relations and cultural attitudes that prevailed in Britain and the British Empire. Two separate but complementary historiographical traditions began to establish orthodoxies in the history of hunting around this time. The first concerned hunting in domestic Britain and began to take shape following the contributions of E.P. Thompson, an English Marxist historian, whose 1975 book, *Whigs and Hunters,* depicts the conflicts over hunting rights in Britain during the eighteenth century as an expression of class struggles over property rights, land use, and social privilege.[28] Other scholars have written complementary histories of hunting in the domestic British context.[29] Hunting in Britain, these studies generally argue, reinforced social hierarchies, upheld political

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[28] E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975).
[29] See, for example: Harry Hopkins, *The Long Affray: The Poaching Wars in Britain, 1760-1914* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1985); David C. Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Foxhunting, 1753-1885* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977); Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); P.B. Munsche, *Gentleman and Poachers: The English Game Laws, 1671-1831* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

authority, restricted social access to the hunt, and symbolized the cultural attitudes and values of the age.

The second historiographical trend adapted these themes to the empire following several seminal contributions by John MacKenzie, particularly his 1988 book, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*.[30] MacKenzie had already developed a distinctive socio-cultural approach to imperial history that privileged the use of evidence found in British popular culture, an approach now familiar through his General Editorship of the "Studies in Imperialism" series published by Manchester University Press. He turned this methodology to the study of hunting and found a significant cultural and symbolic link between hunting and empire. British big-game hunting in India and Africa, he argued, grew out of a set of imperial attitudes rooted in late-Victorian British culture, and was promoted as a means of cultivating the attributes deemed necessary for builders and defenders of the British Empire. Once the initial phase of "conquest" was complete, MacKenzie demonstrates how these same hunters became "penitent butchers" – hunter-conservationists – who sought to manage and regulate hunting according to the principles of conservation, trusteeship, and development that underpinned British colonial thought about Africa. MacKenzie thus shows how hunting in the British Empire revealed the inequality of races, the social exclusions, and the displays of symbolic dominance that characterized the British Empire in Africa.[31] The result of this

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[30] John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988); MacKenzie, "Hunting in Eastern and Central Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to Zimbabwe," in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History,* edited by William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York, 1987); MacKenzie, "Chivalry, Social Darwinsim, and Ritualized Killing: the Hunting Ethos in Central Africa to 1914," in David Anderson and Richard Grove (eds.), *Conservation and Africa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Masculinity and Morality* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987); MacKenzie, "Hunting and Juvenile Literature," in Jeffrey Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988).

[31] Donna Haraway's now-famous article on the symbolism of hunting and taxidermy in fact preceded MacKenzie and anticipated some of the themes he developed in greater detail. See "Teddy Bear

influential thesis, which has been adapted and modified by many other scholars, was to solidify a particular approach to the history of hunting that privileges the use of cultural evidence and the analysis of social themes, so that new entrants to the field have largely confirmed the MacKenzie approach even when they have challenged his interpretation.[32]

This dissertation builds upon the themes of MacKenzie and others, but inflects them in different ways. First, it shifts the methodological focus. Whereas the MacKenzie school analyzes social and cultural themes and links them to the history of empire, this study focuses more broadly on the economic development of the safari industry, bringing in socio-cultural analysis only to the extent that it illuminates important aspects of the safari industry's development. Second, this study shifts the geographical and chronological emphasis. Whereas MacKenzie and others deal mainly with the phase of imperial expansion in the nineteenth century and apply their analyses to the whole continent, naturally finding empire-builders and imperial soldiers to be prominent in the sport, this study concentrates on Kenya in the twentieth century and particularly on the tourist safari that became for Kenya the supreme expression of the hunt.

Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," *Social Text,* No. 11 (Winter, 1984-1985), pp. 20-64.

[32] Examples include the collected essays of J.A. Mangan and Callum C. McKenzie in *Militarism, Hunting, and Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Greg Gillespie, *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840-70* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2007); Harriet Ritvo, "Destroyers and Preservers: Big Game in the Victorian Empire," *History Today,* Vol. 52 (January 2002), pp. 34-5; Joseph Sramek, " 'Face Him Like a Briton': Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875," *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 48, No. 4 (2006), pp. 659-680; Carmel Schrire, *Tigers in Africa: Stalking the Past in the Cape of Good Hope* (University of Virginia Press, 2002); William Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa," *Past and Present,* No. 128 (1990), pp. 162-186; William K. Storey, "Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930," *Journal of World History,* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1991), pp. 135-173; idem., "Guns, Race, and Skill in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa," *Technology and Culture,* Vol. 45, No. 4 (2004), pp. 687-711; Anand S. Pandian, "Predatory Care: The Imperial Hunt in Mughal and British India," *Journal of Historical Sociology,* Vol. 14.1 (2001), pp. 79-107; and Angela Thompsell, *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Shifting the emphasis from the "imperial" hunters of the nineteenth century to tourist hunters of the twentieth century brings different themes into focus. While professional hunters were almost uniformly colonists and the safari industry developed in a colonial context, the tourists themselves came from many countries around the world, particularly the United States, and therefore lent the enterprise a global, multinational element that does not fit easily into the frameworks of "imperial hunting" developed by other historians. Hunting and tourism in Kenya were shaped by those outside the empire as well as those within it. Safari tourism was thus both an imperial and a *globalized* phenomenon that combined elements of both. Safari tourism facilitated cross-cultural interactions, intensified connections between distant locales, and resulted in flows of people, goods, and information across the world. Meanwhile, the stream of foreign visitors and profits from their "consumption" shifted indigenous populations, drawing many Africans into a global economic network that offered opportunities but which also increased risk, made employment unpredictable, and created controversies over land use and economic management.

In this sense, the best way to frame safari tourism conceptually – as a globalized phenomenon that depended on imperial networks, drew in mostly-Western tourists, and occurred in a colonial African context – is to see it as occurring within a wider "British World" (of which the United States was an honorary member) that was united across the seas by bonds of language, race, culture, and economic exchange regardless of the political status of the countries concerned.[33] That is to say, safari tourism depended upon what Andrew Thompson

[33] Scholarship on the "British World" has become a large field in the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth. See, as introductory guides: Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, "Mapping the British World," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* No. 31, Vol. 2 (2003); Philip Buckner and Carl Bridge, "Reinventing the British World," *The Round Table,* Vol. 368 (2003), pp. 77-88; Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary University Press, 2005); Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates,* OHBE Companion Series (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010); and James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009).

and Gary Magee describe in a slightly different context as a "cultural economy" of Britishness, a "co-ethnic network" of economic activity based on ties of language, race, culture, and expectations shared between the safari industry and its clients.[34] The economic exchanges that occurred between tourists and safari companies were not, in other words, driven by "impersonal" market forces, but rather by specific cultural preferences to do business with others who were perceived to be "British" in habit and outlook and who could therefore be trusted to carry out transactions in ways acceptable and familiar to tourists from the West – the reassurance of something familiar in an exotic and adventurous land. Such an approach offers a way of framing the underlying forces that drew tourists to Kenya, particularly from the United States, that moves beyond the conventional categories of empire and globalization.

Beyond these co-ethnic networks that made Kenya congenial to Westerners, tourists found the safari experience alluring for a wide variety of social, cultural, intellectual, and political reasons. This dissertation focuses mainly on the supply side – that is, the safari industry – and what was happening in Kenya, but a few generalizations can be made about the demand side, the tourists and clients who spent time and money on leisure trips in the African wilds. When people travel as tourists, the destination they choose and the activities they pursue reveals something about what they find beautiful, appealing, adventurous, desirable, or prestigious. Interest in the safari across the West grew out of changing ideas about nature and aesthetics that emerged mainly after the eighteenth century. The natural environment increasingly came to be seen as healthful, beautiful, and reinvigorating, a reprieve from the trauma of rapid industrialization and urbanization in the West.[35] At the same time, places once viewed as dangerous and inhospitable (including Africa) began to be seen as adventurous and

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[34] Gary Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[35] See especially Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

"sublime" – no longer threatening and chaotic but rather the source of exhilaration and intense feeling.[36] Intellectual shifts and the discovery of geological time made Westerners eager to uncover the secrets of the earth and to conquer and rationalize nature in a movement that found its greatest expression in the natural history craze of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century, meanwhile, privileged emotion, experience, and the quest for beauty as a reaction against the rationalization of nature that accompanied the scientific ideas of the Enlightenment.

For hunters in particular, there was an element of conspicuous consumption, wherein status was linked with not needing to work, spending extraordinary sums, undertaking great exploits in Africa, and being able to hang the largest trophies on the wall. Some tourists, particularly Britons but also others like Theodore Roosevelt, were attracted by colonial fantasies, ideas about exotic Africa, nostalgia for the great past age of exploration and adventure, and admiration for what they regarded as the beneficent effects of the British colonial project in Africa. Others found the appeal of safari tourism in its ability to transport people to a way of life from the past: tents in the bush; exploring the wilds of an untamed land; feeling and smelling and trekking across the earth in a great battle of wits against nature's noblest creatures. In Africa on safari, as elsewhere when these ideas took hold, the combination of beauty and terror was the attraction: the sense of danger and adventure that heightened the senses and put humans back in touch with emotions that had been subdued by modern, industrialized, civilized life.[37]

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[36] Aesthetic ideas about the "sublime" trace their modern origin to Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757). For a discussion that relates these ideas to modern tourism, see especially Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), especially Chapter 2: "The Sublime and Beautiful."
[37] Ibid.

In creating the safari experience and advertising their business, safari companies both appealed to and reinforced these ideas. Colonial celebration (and nostalgia), masculine fantasies, and ideas about what constituted beauty, adventure, and leisure were deliberately projected by purveyors of the safari as a kind of advertising stunt to attract people of a certain class and inclination to visit Kenya as dollar- and pound-spending tourists.

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The third principal argument of this dissertation is that the development of the safari tourism industry between 1900 and 1939 laid the foundations for future success, preparing the ground for a tremendous expansion of the industry following the Second World War. Kenya's early safari industry was not, in other words, merely a transitory phenomenon that slipped into the distant past to be superseded and forgotten. Rather, the developments between 1900 and 1939 set the stage for things to come and raised the safari industry's profile in direct and identifiable ways. Sustaining the economic viability of Kenya's safari tourism industry through the rapid economic, political, and social change of the early twentieth century compelled the industry to adopt innovations and steadily expand the array of options offered to visiting tourists, and this helped the industry to succeed in the age of mass tourism to come.

In the years between 1900 and 1939, Kenya became the center of Africa's safari trade and developed numerous advantages over competing safari destinations. The early emergence and longstanding development of the safari industry ensured that Kenya had dozens of companies engaged in the trade, hundreds (if not thousands) of experienced professionals, extensive commercial connections at home and abroad, a global reputation, and the broad support of government. The industry adopted many innovations and begun to acquire expertise in their application, including automobiles and motorized tours, air transport, safari lodges, and above all the new sport of wildlife photography, each custom tailored for tourists visiting on a wide variety of budgets. As if to underline the industry's organizational prowess, safari

companies were eager to take contracts to assist large-scale, long-term projects in filmmaking, photography, and natural history collecting – making possible the work of such luminaries as Carl Akeley, Martin and Osa Johnson, and Armand Denis – which brought big business to the safari industry while generating publicity that often inspired others to embark on African safaris of their own.

Two additional developments occurred in the 1930s, barely past embryo form at this time, that would contribute to later success. The first was the establishment in Kenya of two professional associations that aimed to promote the industry's growth. In 1934, at the initiative of the game warden, the professional hunters of Kenya formed the East African Professional Hunters' Association, the leading body for professional guides and safari companies and a conduit between clients, commercial enterprises, and the game departments of East Africa. Four years later, in 1938, a group of industry representatives and former colonial officials created the first government-sponsored agency charged with promoting East African tourism in all its varieties: the East Africa Publicity Association. Although its operations were short-lived before the outbreak of war in 1939, the East Africa Publicity Association laid the foundations and the policy framework for the establishment in 1948 of the East African Tourist Travel Association, a larger, better funded, and more ambitious organization that became instrumental in the promotion of tourism across the region in the postwar years.

Finally, the 1930s saw the first preliminary steps toward the establishment of national parks and reserves in East Africa. In a succession of conferences held in both East Africa and Europe, high-ranking British officials proclaimed their desire to create national parks in Africa and set aside land in perpetuity where wildlife and habitat could be preserved from both hunting and human development. The first bill on national parks in East Africa was introduced just before the outbreak of war; the first report was produced in 1942; and in 1945 Kenya passed a comprehensive National Parks Ordinance that established the framework of policy. The

objectives gaining momentum in the 1930s produced by 1952 no fewer than fourteen national parks and reserves that encompassed 28,500 square miles, one of the highest concentrations of land set aside in a national parks system anywhere in the world. With these steps, initiated but not quite realized in the 1930s, Kenya was poised for a new era of success as a leading destination for wildlife tourism in Africa.

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This dissertation examines these themes within deliberately chosen parameters of enquiry, beginning with the emergence of the industry around 1900 and ending at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The chapters are divided roughly into two parts separated by the First World War. Part 1 focuses on the period from 1900 to 1914 in four chapters that explain, respectively, the origins of the safari industry (Chapter 1), the rise of Kenya as a favored tourist destination (Chapter 2), the innovation of the luxury tourist safari (Chapter 3), and the economic importance the industry achieved during this formative period of development (Chapter 4). Part 2 turns to the interwar years between 1918 and 1939. It explains in successive chapters how the safari industry adjusted to the advent of the automobile (Chapter 5) and the camera (Chapter 6), expanded the range of services offered to visitors (Chapter 7), achieved a degree of fame owing to high-profile safaris and a profusion of films about Africa (Chapter 8), and finally reached a state of maturity in the 1930s signaled by the foundation of professional associations and the embrace of mass tourism (Chapter 9). This project uses a wide range of sources gathered from archival collections across three continents, including government records, guidebooks, memoirs, trade reports, tourism publicity material, and the previously unreleased records of leading professional associations.

It will be demonstrated in this dissertation that the history of Kenya's safari tourism industry is warranted not only by the paucity of existing historical studies on the subject, but

also by the economic, social, and cultural significance of the safari industry itself, and the influence it exerted on the wider history of both East Africa and the world.

Chapter 1: The Origins of the Safari Tourism Industry, 1900-1914

This chapter examines the origins and growth of East Africa's safari industry during the formative years of its development between 1900 and 1914. It argues that the sport and pastime of big-game hunting in East Africa entered a new phase of its history shortly after 1900. Improvements in transportation and infrastructure, the physical development of the new British colonies, and the allures of the region as a great wildlife attraction drew increasing numbers of visiting sportsmen and tourists to East Africa. The growing number of sportsmen and travelers visiting the country in turn prompted a proliferation of outfitters and safari companies whose business concerns rested squarely on the provision of services to visitors going on safari. It was during this period, as a result of these changes, that East Africa's safari industry acquired the form that it maintained for most of the colonial age, based on the emergence of the all-inclusive safari outfitting company and the professional guides and outfitters they employed to lead and organize the luxury tourist safari.

The choice of starting date is not meant to mark any watershed event, nor even a particular year, but rather to encompass an important phase in the history of the subject, during which time the safari finds its genesis as an organized and identifiable economic industry. For it was not any single event but rather a confluence of historical changes that converged in a decisive way around the year 1900 to make the safari a viable business pursuit. The rapid development of this industry is not meant to credit the tourist safari with undue novelty, still less to imply that it emerged anew without any precedents to follow. The pastime of traveling through exotic locales and hunting big game had existed for many years by the dawn of the twentieth century and was well-trodden territory for an elite coterie of experienced big-game hunters. Indeed, many people throughout history had based their livelihoods on hunting wild animals and were, therefore, by definition, "professional hunters." Arabs and Africans had

long hunted East Africa in search of ivory and other animal commodities to sell to merchants and traders on the coast. Many individuals of European descent spent lifetimes hunting newly colonized lands in both the Old and the New Worlds, including North America's fur trappers and buffalo hunters, and others who sought ivory in Africa. Among these devoted and experienced hunters prior to the twentieth century were a few individuals, mostly aristocrats and millionaires, who pursued their quarry expressly for sport and adventure and to enjoy the leisure of life in the wilds.

To employ an analogy about the dynamic that existed between the pioneers of the sport and the tourist ventures to follow, Mount Everest had first to be mapped and scaled by expert mountaineers before pre-arranged guided climbs could be offered for sale to the novice. So too in Africa was the sport of big-game hunting pioneered in the first instance by expert hunters and adventurers before a body of knowledge and set of standard practices advanced to a stage at which novice visitors in search of a holiday could be accommodated with a reasonably high chance of success. This pioneering role was fulfilled in the case of the African safari by such figures as William Cornwallis Harris (1807-1848), Roualeyn Gordon Cumming (1820-1866), William Cotton Oswell (1818-1893), Arthur Neumann (1850-1907), and Frederick Courtenay Selous (1851-1917), to name but several of the most famous nineteenth-century "nimrods."[38] Many of these early African hunters spent lifetimes wandering the wilds of Africa, accumulating knowledge of its flora and fauna, mapping the districts where the best game could be found, and compiling methods of travel and hunting that would be passed down through the generations and later put to good use by those in charge of the tourist safari.

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[38] William Cornwallis Harris, *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* (London, 1839); Cumming, Roualeyn Gordon. *The Lion Hunter* (1915); Roualeyn Gordon Cumming, *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa,* 2 vols. (London, 1850); William Edward Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer* (London, 1900); Arthur H. Neumann and Emily Mary Bowdler Sharpe, *Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa* (1898); Frederick Courteney Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa: Being a Narrative of Nine Years Spent Amongst the Game of the Far Interior of South Africa* (London, 1881, reprint 2001); Frederick Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London, 1908).

These early hunters influenced the tourist safari in other ways beyond the provision of expert knowledge. They solidified certain codes of conduct that had been derived originally from the aristocratic hunting traditions of Europe, particularly the notions of "sportsmanship" and "fair chase" that were seen as a test of martial ability and skill in the field. Safari guides later adapted these principles to their own circumstances by discouraging "unsportsmanlike" behavior (such as shooting from cars), while seeking to preserve wild animals, not so much as a sacred trust like their aristocratic forebears, but rather as a resource for the future enjoyment of tourists and sportsmen, without which the business of guiding safaris would cease to exist. In a slightly different way, early hunters established social conventions and common practices, such as camp life, the modes of travel, and the hierarchy of labor on safari, that became widely emulated as much for the sake of tradition as for practical necessity.

Early hunters also had a significant influence on the culture of the African safari. They helped to establish the unofficial costume of the safari, which derived from the late-nineteenth-century army uniforms issued in Britain's tropical empire. The pith helmet, the felt terai hats, the khaki bush shirts laden with pockets and straps, the English double-rifles, indeed the whole physical image of the safari hunter that enters the mind's eye, are only the most obvious physical manifestations of the degree to which a culture of nostalgia, imagination, and fantasy pervaded the motivations of the safari tourist who sought to relive the adventures of a lost age. It was hardly an accident that such traditions entered the public's mind through the dissemination of books and articles written by and about the early African hunters. Virtually all of the famous nineteenth-century hunters published tales of their experiences hunting the wilds of Africa, mixed with commentaries on the natural history of the newly discovered continent. The resulting books sold widely and were translated into many languages. Even more significant, perhaps, was the cultural influence of fictional accounts about hunters in Africa, particularly the fabulously popular stories of H. Rider Haggard, written from the 1880s

through the 1920s, which spawned a whole literary genre known as "Lost World" literature.[39] In his most famous story, *King Solomon's Mines,* which has witnessed numerous iterations on film, the main character, Allan Quatermain, is based on the real-life exploits of Frederick Selous, one of the preeminent African hunters of his generation. The significance of hunting tales told by and about the early African hunters, as far as the dynamics of safari tourism are concerned, lies in the effect they had of publicizing the allures of the African safari, not only to tourists seeking to relive the adventure, but also among the rising generation of professional safari guides, who frequently confessed to having found their occupational inspiration while reading tales of the early African hunters.

Perhaps for this reason, many accounts of the African safari have conflated the old-time, ivory-seeking, adventurer-hunters of the nineteenth century with the rather different kinds of hunters that fill the pages of the present study. That is to say, the rapidly changing conditions in East Africa after 1900, connected with the extension of colonial rule, either reduced or eliminated the prospects for pursuing the kind of grand hunting exploits formerly undertaken by the expert hunters of the nineteenth century. At the same time, as we shall see in the present study, these changes in colonial law and administration gave rise to two new kinds of hunters associated with the tourist safari. The first was the visiting hunter, or "tourist," the prototype of the safari visitor that continues to enjoy the wildlife and scenery of East Africa to the present day. The second was the hunter employed to guide and organize the visitor's safari, who became known interchangeably as "white hunter," "professional hunter," or "safari guide." Professional safari guides can be immediately distinguished from the early hunters because of the source of their incomes and the motivations that led them to the field. That is to say, safari guides earned their livelihoods from guiding foreign visitors and took to the field expressly for

[39] See, in particular, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard,* One Volume Edition (New York: Walter J. Black, 1928).

this reason, whereas early hunters did nothing of the kind, profiting instead from ivory and usually pursuing game for their own personal profit or enjoyment. At the same time, it is true, in a certain sense at least, that the nineteenth-century hunters shared some elements with the tourist hunters to come, insofar as they *visited* East Africa as foreign-born Europeans, employed guides and trackers and various other local helpers, and sought (in most cases at least) a degree of sport and adventure just like the tourist.

Yet to stretch the connection beyond these self-evident observations is to obscure the novel changes that occurred after 1900 with the advent of a new business enterprise based on the tourist safari. Several additional points of distinction must be emphasized to distinguish the early hunters of the nineteenth century from the tourist hunters of the twentieth. First, most early hunters were experts in the field, who possessed legendary skill at the sport as well as intimate knowledge of the African wilds. Tourist hunters, by contrast, despite their experience hunting back home, generally lacked knowledge of Africa and could not hope to succeed without the aid of local guides and a properly organized expedition. Secondly, the early hunters organized their own safaris and employed their own men, acting at once as head of the safari and the principal shooter. Tourist safaris separated the two tasks, the visitor being the main shooter, and the professional guide being the expert who managed the logistics of the expedition. Thirdly, early hunters invariably expected to profit from their expeditions through the sale of ivory, skin, horns, and meat, even when the commercial prospects of the hunt served as a kind of subsidy for the primary pursuit of sport and adventure. By contrast, the game regulations introduced by the British administration beginning in the 1890s severely curtailed the prospects for remunerative commercial hunting, as we shall see in greater detail in later chapters. Tourist hunters enjoyed their sport only if they could afford the significant financial outlays required of every luxury guided safari. Finally, the early hunters tended to stay in Africa for many months, even years, at a time. Some of them stayed so long that never again

did they feel comfortable "back home." Tourist hunters, by contrast, stayed for relatively shorter periods and invariably returned to their home countries, while the professional guides they employed were often inhabitants of East Africa itself, usually "white settlers" who had made their homes in the colony that became Kenya.

* * *

In practice, the lines of distinction between the early African hunters and the participants in the tourist safari were blurred during a brief period of transition around the turn of the century. The expert hunters who roamed Africa in small numbers during the nineteenth century were joined around 1900 by growing numbers of sportsmen of an intermediate skill level who accompanied the arrival of colonial rule — less experienced and devoted than the likes of Selous, Neumann, Cumming, Bell, and other early hunters, but more capable than most later tourist hunters. Many of them were soldiers and administrators on leave from Britain's other colonies, particularly India. Some were settlers or prospective settlers visiting to see the lay of the land. Others came solely for sport with the intention of either organizing the safari themselves or finding a local who could help them when and to the extent that was needed. Although such hunters were not "experts" in the way of Frederick Selous, they nevertheless tended to possess enough experience hunting in exotic locales to enjoy some sport with the help only of native trackers and guides. Perhaps the most important source of hunters during this period of transition involved servants of the British Empire in some capacity or another. Administrators, officials, soldiers, and innumerable individuals employed by colonial-sponsored projects, such as the construction of the Uganda Railway, took advantage of their postings to East Africa by hunting the local big game.

The cumulative effect of this increased hunting activity at the turn of the century, whether or not it can be classified as "tourism," was that it created a cottage industry of businesses that catered to the needs of the sportsman. Indeed, judging by the proliferation of

companies and hotels offering "outfitting" and "safari services," the business was most robust. Supplying and outfitting hunters became an important supplement to the normal economic activity of trade for a wide variety of different enterprises, some of them owned by Indians and Goans as well as Europeans. A handbook dated 1900 lists the services of Messrs Boustead, Ridley & Co. of Mombasa, who could "supply you with porters, head men, trade goods" and other supplies for safari.[40] The firm later changed its name to Boustead Brothers, established offices in Colombo, Mombasa, and Zanzibar (while hiring agents in London) and placed the bold heading on their advertisements: "Sporting Caravans Equipped."[41] A firm called Heubner and Co. of Nairobi, Merchant Bankers and Transport Agents, advertised as early as 1903 a specialty of "Fitting out Shooting Safaris."[42] The firms Smith, Mackenzie & Co., The Boma Trading Company, T. Hilton and Son, and Charles Heyer & Co. had made a specialty since the turn of the century of "fully equipping and organizing shooting parties, introducing settlers requiring land, and generally having a thorough knowledge of all that is required for caravan work in the colony," as R.J. Cunninghame explained in the *Handbook of British East Africa*.[43] The Boma Trading Company, founded in 1907 and managed by Captain G.H. Riddell, seems to have done the best of these early outfitters, providing a wide range of services and having a branch office in London. They organized a safari for the Count of Turin in 1908 and for the Duke of Connaught in 1910.[44]

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[40] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 46.
[41] *The East African Standard,* 7 November 1908.
[42] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 46.
[43] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 151.
[44] Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09), p. 365. On the Count of Turin and Duke of Connaught, see Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 48.

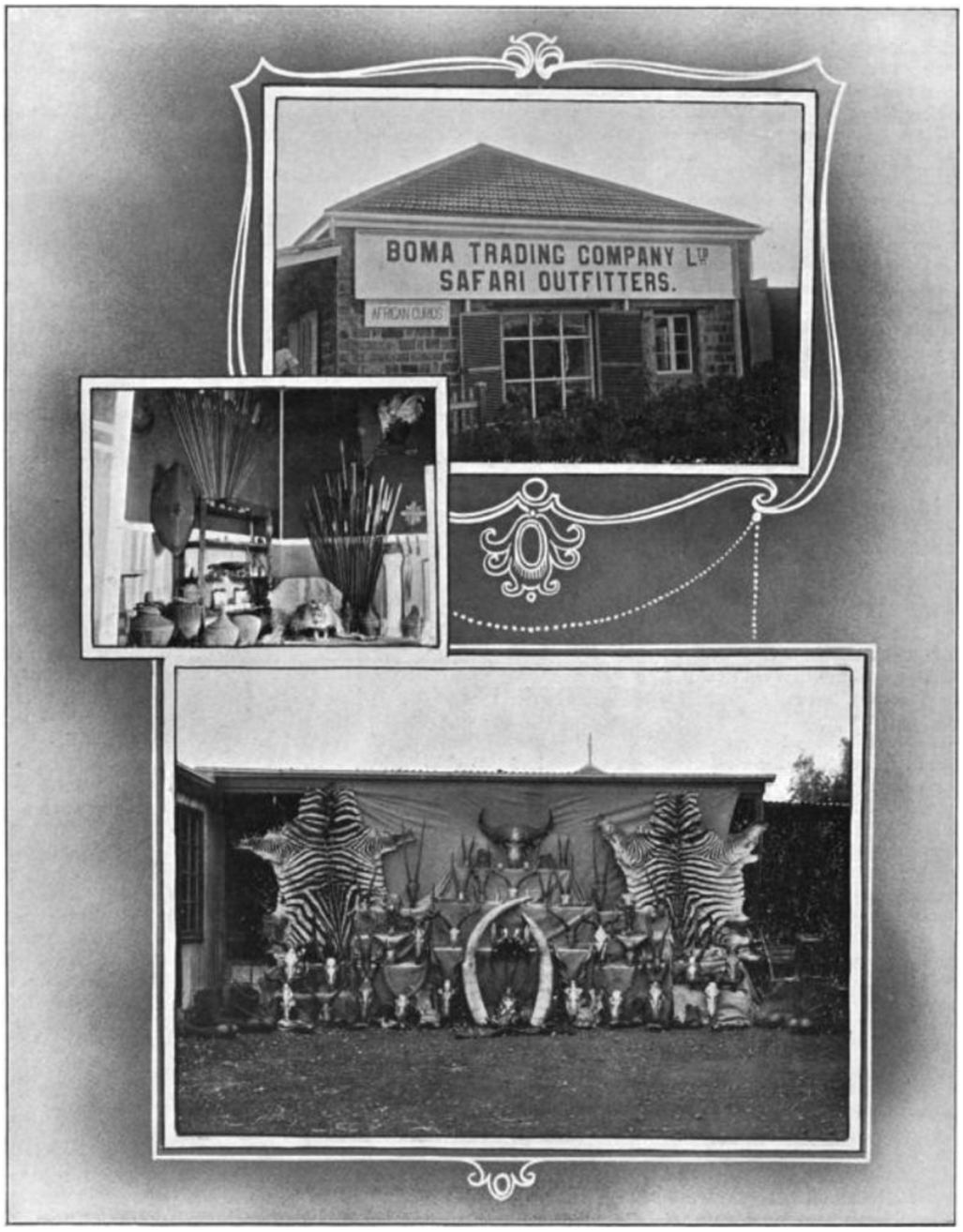

Illustration 1: The Boma Trading Company, founded in 1907, became one of the leading safari companies in East Africa in the first decade of the century.[45]

[45] Source: Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).

Others appeared for a brief time around the middle of the decade but soon disappeared from the rosters of safari companies. The Mombasa Trading and Development Syndicate, Ltd, which had offices in London, Mombasa, and Nairobi, included among their services in 1905: "Sportsmen and Explorers fitted out with everything necessary for safari," and "Trophies prepared and packed for shipment."[46] Claude Cardozo of Kitui, a broker and commission agent, advertised his ability to supply porters and provisions for safari.[47] Even hotels expanded their services to get in on the action. In Mombasa, both the Hotel Cecil and The Grand (affiliated with the Mombasa Trading and Development Syndicate), two of the leading hotels in the city, advertised as early as 1906 that they could outfit shooting parties and provide safari camp equipment on their premises.[48] The Blue Posts Hotel near Thika, 29 miles northeast of Nairobi, provided guides and equipment for shooting parties.[49] By 1905, J.A. Rayne's Masonic Hotel in Nairobi, which occupied the old premises of the Stanley Hotel, advertised "home comforts and amenities" to "shooting parties and others," promising to "fit out any safari, however large, with every necessary article and at moderate rates."[50]

Such examples could be repeated to reinforce the fact that shooting had become, by the first decade of the twentieth century, a lucrative business that drew a wide variety of clients, some of them proper tourists of the kind examined in the present study, some of them posted to East Africa in an official capacity, and some of them locals who sought the assistance of a safari outfitter. Newland, Tarlton, and Co., Ltd., which sought to take the business a step further with the creation of the first dedicated safari company, wrote of these early outfitters in 1908 that "the numerous facilities already existing in British East Africa and Uganda for

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[46] *The Times of East Africa,* 16 December 1905, p. 1.
[47] *The Times of East Africa,* 10 February 1906.
[48] *The Times of East Africa,* 24 February 1906.
[49] *The East African Standard,* 28 September 1912, p. 16.
[50] Advertisement, The Masonic Hotel, J.A. Rayne & Co., Proprietors, *The African Standard,* 18 March 1905, p. 11.

travelers, scientific explorers, and those desirous of making a big game shooting expedition, are annually becoming more extensively known."[51]

A special word is in order about the famous British travel firm, Thomas Cook & Son, founded in 1841. Despite Thomas Cook's reputation as a pioneer of tourist travel across the globe, including in Africa, its operations fell on the margins of the safari trade. Until the 1930s, Thomas Cook did not engage in safari work itself, nor even in wildlife tourism broadly defined, except to the extent that tourists saw wildlife from the windows of a train, which they invariably did. Cook's business consisted primarily of inclusive "package tours," whereby travelers toured exotic locales quickly by train or steamship or other mass transit, enjoyed fine hotels along the way that were prearranged by the company, and sampled the picturesque attractions in a rapid, regimented manner that tended to reinforce the physical distance of the tourists from the land through which they traveled.[52]

Nevertheless, it is important to give the reader a view of the company's offerings in East Africa before the First World War, for Thomas Cook played an important role as both an advertiser and a facilitator of foreign travel through exotic locales like Africa. Thomas Cook had organized tours to the continent, particularly Egypt, since the nineteenth century and entered the East African territories almost as soon as they became British colonies. The great expeditions of European explorers in the latter half of the nineteenth century had fired the imaginations of the European public, and Thomas Cook sought to capitalize upon this interest by offering tours of the lands through which the great explorers had traveled. By 1903, the Uganda Railway's annual report announced, almost as soon as its lines were opened, that it

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[51] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 1.

[52] Although they make only passing mention of East Africa, two books in particular serve as authoritative introductions to the history of Thomas Cook: Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991); and Jill Hamilton, *Thomas Cook: The Holiday-Maker* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 2005).

had reached arrangements for Thomas Cook to issue "tourist tickets" on the railway as well as on the Railway's steamships sailing Lake Victoria.[53]

This was merely a prelude. The next year, in 1904, Thomas Cook's trade organ, *The Traveller's Gazette,* announced inclusive tours from Cairo to Lake Victoria and Mombasa.[54] The journey stretched nearly 4,000 miles up the Nile River, with all but 300 miles aboard Cook's and Sudan Government steamers, then on the Uganda Railway. "The great charm of these tourist steamers as a means of conveyance," an article in *The African Standard* commented, "is the absence of all worry and anxiety." Thomas Cook promised certainty, safety, and punctuality, and reassured travelers that it could sample all the interesting sights of the Nile – temples, ancient remains, bazaars, and native life – with a minimum of wear and tear. "The Nile voyage on these steamers means river travelling under the most favourable auspices, in the most comfortable quarters, on a floating hotel, as well lodged and as well fed as anywhere in the world, with pleasant company and pleasant surroundings."[55] The journey would conclude with a two-day journey across Lake Victoria (about 200 miles) and two days aboard the Uganda Railway to the coast at Mombasa, during which time the traveler would pass through the "famous Athi Game Reserve," where "herds of zebra, gazelle, hartebeests and other animals are to be seen grazing close to the line," a sight "compared to some huge zoological garden."[56] Two years later, in 1906, Cook began offering a round trip package from London via Mombasa, through British East Africa to Lake Victoria, that included a ten days' cruise on the Lake and a visit to the Ripon Falls, all for about £89.[57]

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[53] Notice, *The African Standard,* 19 September 1903, p. 9.
[54] "From Cairo to Victoria Nyanza and Mombasa with a Cook's Ticket," *The African Standard,* 6 February 1904, p. 3.
[55] Ibid, p. 3.
[56] Ibid, p. 3.
[57] Notice, *The East African Standard,* 21 April 1906, p. 5.

Thomas Cook continued to expand its package tours in East Africa. By 1908, the company offered inclusive round-trip tours from London via Marseilles (£166) or Southampton (£175); from Paris via Marseilles (4,390 Francs); from Hamburg (Mks. 3,760); from Cologne (Mks. 3,830); and from Vienna via Naples (Kr. 4,560).[58] These inclusive fares included first-class ocean passages there and back, first-class travel on the railway and Lake Victoria, first-class hotel accommodation, sleeping accommodation on trains, and fees covered for luggage and all incidentals necessary to travel. These affordable, inclusive tours offered by a leading travel company undoubtedly capitalized upon the public's interest in African wildlife, particularly the celebrated train journey through the Athi Plains. And yet, in spite of this, Thomas Cook never itself entered directly into the safari trade in East Africa, nor considered wildlife to be the principal attraction for the traveler.

The most that can be said of Thomas Cook's involvement in safari tourism before 1914 was that, for a brief time, the company arranged safari trips with local firms, whereby Thomas Cook conveyed the travelers in its usual way until they reached East Africa and enlisted the help of Cook's affiliated safari outfitter. This, in any case, was the arrangement Thomas Cook reached in 1913 with its East African "Correspondents," the British East Africa Corporation, Ltd., whose Sporting and Tourist Department outfitted "shooting parties and tourists" on behalf of Thomas Cook.[59] The B.E.A. Corporation was headquartered in Mombasa and served as joint agents of the popular Union Castle Line (scheduled to be sole agents after July 1913), but it appears that their safari work occurred mainly in Uganda, particularly involving tours via Uganda and the Nile River, where Cook steamers disembarked. This venture into the safari trade apparently met with little success, or was in any case disrupted by the outbreak of war in

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[58] "The Cook's Tour: Inclusive Fare and General Conditions," *The East African Standard,* 7 November 1908, p. 17.

[59] Advertisement, The British East Africa Corporation, Ltd., *The Uganda Herald,* 16 May 1913, p. 20.

August 1914. By September 1914, the British East Africa Corporation changed the title of its Sporting and Tourist Department to *Passenger* and Tourist Department (emphasis mine), still advertising "tours and transport" in affiliation with Thomas Cook, but no longer offering safaris or shooting expeditions.[60]

Thomas Cook's East African ventures notwithstanding, the proliferation of various outfitters in East Africa, particularly Nairobi, signaled a growing demand for safari services, and a recognition by entrepreneurs of the potential to profit from this safari trade. At the same time, it must be emphasized that these sundry outfitters were distinct from the later safari companies in the kinds of services they offered to the visitor. Although some of them catered to hunting safaris and helped outfit expeditions, most offered only partial services to the visitor, such as supplies and provisions, forwarding, commission work, transportation, and the arrangement of porters. A very few of them would attempt to arrange African guides, but not as a regularized service. Catering to safaris was, in other words, little more than an adjunct to the main business of these early outfitters, not a dedicated enterprise with anything resembling the sophistication of the all-inclusive safari services that characterized the industry in later years. The services provided by outfitters were often quite limited. Many visiting sportsmen and travelers as late as 1902 had to arrange safaris in the traditional way, by employing porters and indigenous guides on their own initiative. In 1902, a man as distinguished as Edward North Buxton, who played a seminal role in saving London's Epping Forest, and who later served as president of the prestigious Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, had to arrange his own caravan at Mombasa and send it ahead on foot. When Percy Powell-Cotton, another distinguished hunter and explorer, tried to secure official support for his safari

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[60] Advertisement, The British East Africa Corporation, Ltd., *The Uganda Herald,* 18 September 1914, p. 16.

in the same year, his appeal was denied and he had to return to Mombasa and organize it there by himself, like everyone else.[61]

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For the purposes of an economic investigation into the origins of East Africa's modern tourism industry, the watershed development that marks the origins of the industry occurred at the moment that *dedicated* and *all-inclusive* safari companies were established for the purpose of capturing the entire business of outfitting, organizing, and guiding tourist safaris, from the time the visitor stepped off the boat in Mombasa all the way through his departure and including the shipment of trophies after the trip. This moment, which occurred around 1904, signaled that outfitting safaris was no longer a cottage industry for a few intrepid amateur sportsmen, nor simply the domain of commercial hunters and swashbuckling adventurers who organized the ventures themselves, but rather that the safari had become an activity able to attract enough foreign visitors to make the pastime profitable as a regular business pursuit. The foundation of the first safari firms signaled, in other words, that the market for safaris — the number of tourists visiting East Africa, and the amount of money they spent on safari — had grown large enough to support a fully fledged industry, characterized by all-inclusive safari packages, international advertising schemes, and the advent of travel and safari companies able to handle the logistics formerly left to the individual sportsman. This conceptual dividing line, though necessary as a preliminary statement, is not meant to imply that the activities occurring before this moment fall outside of our definitions of "tourism." Rather, the statement is intended to convey that we can only talk of an identifiable "industry" and fruitfully analyze its characteristics once the enterprise had acquired sufficient internal viability and external recognition as to make it an established branch of commercial activity.

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[61] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 151.

The first dedicated safari company in East Africa to offer all-inclusive safari packages was the Nairobi-based firm, Newland, Tarlton, and Co., Ltd. The firm was founded as an auction and estate company in 1904 by two enterprising young Australians named Victor Newland and Leslie Tarlton.[62] The two men had arrived in Nairobi in December 1903 when they were still in their twenties with a "ludicrously small capital" of about £200.[63] Tarlton had just completed military service with the Australian contingent in South Africa's Boer War. Newland joined him having acquired some experience as an auctioneer and land agent in Australia. Once in Nairobi, they formed a partnership with Cullis Relly and opened as a land and livestock auctioneering business, forming a limited company about a year later.[64] The new company quickly became successful. The exact moment that Newland and Tarlton began offering safari services is not entirely clear, but circumstantial evidence suggests that the leaders of the new company made the transition gradually, at first merely to supplement their work as auctioneers and land agents.

Of the two men, Leslie Tarlton held a stronger interest in hunting and later admitted that he migrated to Nairobi largely because of the opportunities it offered for big-game hunting.[65] Tarlton's interest in the hunt and the connections he forged with local settlers put him in contact with the steady flow of wealthy sportsmen coming into the colony, many of them having very little prior knowledge of what their African hunts might entail. He saw the potential for a profitable business venture helping them navigate the country and organize the

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[62] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007). The manuscript is based on original interviews with professional hunters conducted by Emily Host mainly in the 1940s and 1950s. Host, born in New Zealand, lived in Kenya with her husband until 1956, during which time she conducted interviews with famous "white hunters" to preserve the records of a generation that was passing. Although she died in 1979, her husband made arrangements to have the manuscript published in New Zealand with the aid of editors and several knowledgeable professional hunters from Kenya.

[63] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 50.

[64] "Newland Tarlton & Co., Ltd.: New Premises," *The East African Standard,* 24 September 1910, p. 10.

[65] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), pp. 91-93.

particulars of a safari. Newland and Tarlton were well placed to succeed in this field. As owners of a successful auction and estate company, they possessed local business connections, buildings and facilities, the capital to get started, and a reputation among the settler community of East Africa generally that benefited their entry into the safari business. Emily Host, a New Zealand-born writer who lived in Kenya in the 1940s and 1950s, conducted interviews with Tarlton on the beginnings of this enterprise:

> Leslie found to his joy that he could turn his hobby into a profitable business. With characteristic energy and practicability, the Australians arranged their business to include Safari work. Newland attended to the books and financial arrangements as well as continuing as an Auctioneer and Land Agent, while Tarlton acted as Guide, Hunter and Organizer, and Safari Manager for sportsmen who wanted African trophies.[66]

This statement, based on Tarlton's recollections, comes as close as any known source to representing Tarlton's account of the firm's beginnings in the safari trade. Although Tarlton had long planned to write a book that might have verified these circumstances, he died in 1952, aged 75, and the project never came to fruition. But Newland and Tarlton did claim that "we were the first firm in Nairobi to undertake the equipment and management of 'safari' work," with the emphasis heavily on the aspect of management, which set their new firm apart from the outfitters that already existed.[67]

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[66] Ibid, p. 93.

[67] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 1.

Illustration 2: A rare photograph (c. 1910) of Leslie Tarlton with Theodore Roosevelt.[68]

[68] This photograph, now in the public domain, is held by the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Divisions. < http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2013649459/>.

Other evidence suggests that the firm's entry into the safari business received impetus from a single identifiable source, although the account appears in a client's memoir and may be apocryphal. In 1905, Carl Akeley, a famous American taxidermist, visited Nairobi on assignment with Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History to collect animal specimens and ship them back to the United States for display in the museum. According to Akeley's account, he had come to Nairobi searching for a place to store his taxidermy materials between trips to the field. One day he passed the door of a drab, slightly dirty, galvanized steel building and heard the "encouraging" clatter of a typewriter. Akeley entered the building and struck a deal with the proprietors, Newland and Tarlton, to rent a third of the front half of the building for five rupees per month — about a dollar and a half at the time.[69] This business relationship was later extended to include outfitting, organizing, and guiding Akeley's expeditions to the field. Akeley claims in his memoir that, owing to this chance encounter in 1905, Newland and Tarlton "fell" into the safari business and that, upon meeting him, they had "acquired their first safari client."[70]

The broad outlines of this account — the timing of the events and the services Newland and Tarlton rendered — are probably true, but the spontaneity of the encounter and the leading role that Akeley ascribed to himself, though flattering and dramatic as a story, appear to contradict the evidence. Tarlton's earliest safari work began modestly and involved offering his personal services as a hunter and guide on an ad hoc basis, which began before he met Akeley.[71] Tarlton frequented Nairobi's clubs and hotels and possessed a clear understanding of the potential demand for safari services. Tarlton made it clear in his recollections that the motivation for such work came first from his passion for the hunt, and secondly from the

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[69] Carl Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1923), p. 148.
[70] Ibid, pp. 148-49.
[71] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 93.

observation that sportsmen visiting the colony were eager to enlist the assistance of knowledgeable locals. The more likely story of this first encounter is that Akeley, having arrived in the colony with the objective of securing animal specimens, solicited local opinion about who might help him organize a safari and store the specimens he collected, and Newland and Tarlton, already active in the safari business and becoming well known as businessmen in Nairobi, were most frequently mentioned as the enterprising and efficient company that could meet the taxidermist's needs. From there, it is entirely probable that Akeley played a central and formative role in helping Newland and Tarlton to become established as an all-inclusive safari company owing to the scale of his expeditions, the large financial outlays he incurred on behalf of museums, and the prestige that came from working with a man who was becoming well known for his taxidermy and natural history work across the English-speaking world.

Securing Akeley as a client represented a huge success for Newland and Tarlton's venture into the safari trade. By 1905, Akeley had already achieved fame by inventing a new method of taxidermy that would become almost universal, and with it came a high demand for his work. His circle of contacts soon widened beyond his professional world to include many eminent figures as well as patrons and politicians. Within a few years, in 1909, he planned his safari to coincide with Theodore Roosevelt's and spent part of the time in the company of the former president. Simultaneously, he took a new position at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, where his world-famous taxidermy techniques produced life-like animal specimens that can still be observed in the Akeley African Hall. There is every indication that Akeley's ambition in 1905 found a ready partner in Newland and Tarlton. The *Times of East Africa* reported in the aftermath of his expedition that the safari had been "wonderfully successful" and that the resulting collection of animal trophies, prepared and

packed under the management of Newland and Tarlton, amounted to something like 35 tons of shipping barrels and cases.[72]

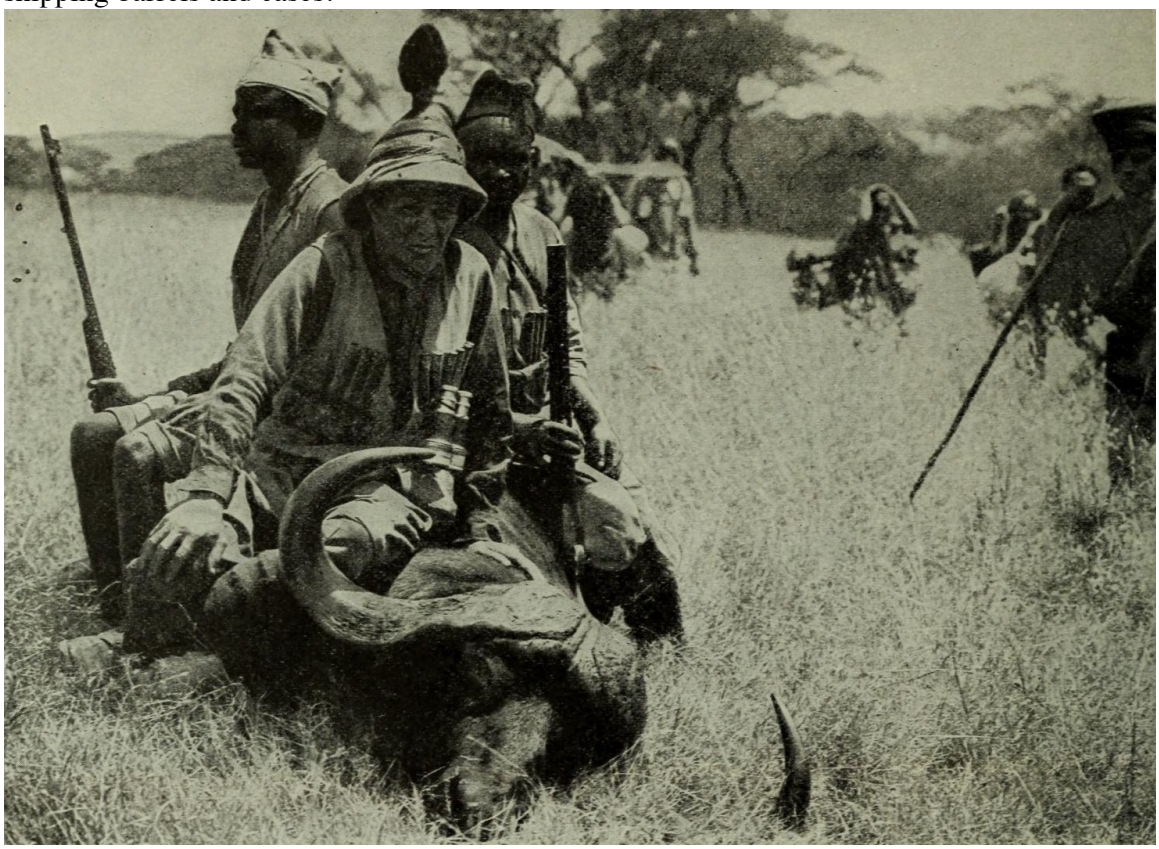

Illustration 3: Carl Akeley poses with his gun boys over a Cape Buffalo. Akeley became famous for his new taxidermy techniques, collecting many of the specimens himself.[73]

Akeley believed that one of the essential traits of a successful taxidermist was to be "a field man who can collect his own specimens," which meant in practice a man who accompanied a safari expedition, traveled over difficult terrain, shot his own animals, and arranged for the trophies and skins to be cured and carried back to the museum in a good state

[72] *The Times of East Africa,* 8 December 1906, p. 5.

[73] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This photograph, now in the public domain, originally appeared in Carl Akeley, "Hunting the African Buffalo," in *The World's Work: Volume XLI: November, 1920 to April 1921* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1921).

of preservation.[74] Yet traveling to a distant and unfamiliar land and collecting animal specimens with any degree of success required a certain amount of practical assistance that was not, in 1905, readily available in East Africa. Akeley's field expeditions ultimately needed a guide and outfitter that could offer him a complete safari package, from supplies and transport to guiding in the field. Newland and Tarlton's ability to provide the full range of safari services needed for Akeley's large, museum-sponsored expeditions marked their first major safari and paved the road to success.

Illustration 4: Carl Akeley poses with a dead lioness.[75]

[74] Carl Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1923), p. 15.

[75] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This photograph, now in the public domain, originally appeared in "My Acquaintance With Lions," in *The World's Work: Volume XLI: November, 1920 to April 1921* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1921).

Newland and Tarlton's business rapidly gained momentum over the several years following its auspicious first safari with Akeley. By the end of 1906, the company reported that "the past month has been exceptionally brisk in all directions" and that "safari parties have been flocking in," leaving this category of the firm's activities "fully engaged."[76] An advertisement issued by Newland and Tarlton in *The Globe Trotter* in July 1906 gives an indication of the firm's success during the season following Akeley's safari, listing thirty-two distinguished clients, many of them aristocrats, as well as "many others of the World's Finest Sportsmen." The advertisement aimed squarely at the clientele in search of the complete safari package. "More than half the Pleasure of Roaming through this Land of Big Game is lost when Headmen are ineffective, Askaris unreliable, Equipment unsuitable and incomplete." Newland and Tarlton could always supply "men who know the game," "equipment that is serviceable," "well tried shooting and transport animals," and "information that is reliable."[77] The business grew so fast in 1905 and 1906 that the firm had difficulty coping with the number of interested clients. Newland and Tarlton purchased more equipment and recruited more indigenous labor, but still the demand for their services outpaced the company's growth.

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[76] *East African Standard,* 8 December 1906, p. 4.
[77] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. advertisement, *The Globe Trotter,* Vol. 1, No. 26 (4 July 1906).

THE GLOBE TROTTER

Vol. I. No. 26. SPECIAL BIG GAME EDITION. 4th July, 1906.

SPORTSMEN!

In a Sporting Paradise Live for Sport.

More than half the Pleasure of Roaming through this Land of Big Game is lost when Headmen are ineffective, Askaris unreliable, Equipment unsuitable and incomplete.

Newland, Tarlton & Co.,

Nairobi, British East Africa,

Safari Outfitters, Transport Contractors & Export Agents.

CAN ALWAYS SUPPLY: Men who know the Game—Equipment that is serviceMe—Well tried Shooting and Transport Animals—Information that is Reliable.

The Firm had the Honour of including in last Season's Distinguished Clientele.

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT,
EARL COWLEY,
THE MARQUIS OF WATERFORD,
LORD HINDLIP,
SIR CLAUDE DE CRESPIGNEY, BART.,
GENL. R.S.S. BADEN-POWELL, C.B., D.S.O., etc.,
COUNT E. HOYOS,
COUNT MARCHETTI,
COLONEL E. G. HARRISON, D.S.O.,
COLONEL PATTERSON, D.S.O.,
CAPT. THE HON. GUY WILSON, D.S.O.,
THE REVD. DR. RAINSFORD,
WALTER JONES, Esq.,
H. C. PHIPPS, Esq.,
H. HYDE-BAKER, Esq.,
C. E. AKELEY, Esq., (Field Columbian Museum),

Photo by Mansel. Newp.

THE EARL OF WARWICK,
LORD DELAMERE,
LORD MONTGOMERIE,
SIR ROBERT HARVEY, BART.,
SIR THOMAS DANCER, BART.,
THE HON. SIR ALFRED COWLEY, K.C.M.G.,
COUNT PODSTATZKY,
COUNT DE LA MOTTE ST. PIERRE,
COLONEL OWEN THOMAS,
CAPTAIN THE HON. ALWYN GREVILLE,
ABEL CHAPMAN, Esq.,
E. M. CROSSFIELD, Esq.,
F. C. HAVEMEYER, Esq.,
R. W. DUFF, Esq.,
V. SHAW KENNEDY, Esq.,
H. HOLMES TARN, Esq. (British Museum).

And many others of the World's Finest Sportsmen.

CAN YOU DO BETTER THAN FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF MEN WHO KNOW?

Whilst no Effort is spared to Equip Parties at the Shortest Notice, the ever increasing demand renders ample notice of Requirements Desirable.

Cable Address:—**NEWLAND, Nairobi.**

Illustration 5: Newland, Tarlton & Co. Advertisement, 1906.

At some point in late 1905 or early 1906, Newland and Tarlton formulated a plan to take their safari business to the next level. The first step involved establishing a branch office overseas to reduce the burden of correspondence, enquiries, and bookings that came from interested foreign sportsmen, who at that time were primarily British. The firm enlisted the help of Henry Tarlton, Leslie's brother, and Claude Tritton, a socially well-connected entrepreneur who had formerly owned a thriving agricultural seed business in Nairobi.[78] Newland opened an expanded office in Nairobi and began advertising the company's safari services. Tritton returned to London and opened a branch at 166 Piccadilly, above Rowland Ward's famed taxidermy studio at 167 Piccadilly, "where his outstanding charm and many friends made him quite invaluable," according to Cranworth, who later joined the board of directors.[79] The two firms enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship. Rowland Ward used its reputation as well as its presence in the publishing and taxidermy industries to advertise the possibilities of hunting in East Africa under the auspices of Newland and Tarlton. The safari company, meanwhile, referred most of its clients to Rowland Ward when the time came to mount the trophies and ship them back home.[80]

Newland and Tarlton's second and probably more crucial innovation was to enlist the help of all the region's most experienced and well known professional hunters to act as guides and managers for the clients. Tarlton achieved this task through an ingenious scheme that involved bringing experienced hunters into partnership with the firm. Most hunters in East Africa with experience in the field and knowledge of the country remained far afield, either working as farmers and settlers, or hunting in unregulated districts in search of ivory until they

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[78] Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of the African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1999), p. 60.
[79] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 50.
[80] For a recent study of Rowland Ward's storied history, see P.A. Morris, *Rowland Ward: Taxidermist to the World* (Ascot, Berkshire, UK: MPM and Lavenham Press, 2003).

collected enough to warrant a return to Nairobi, where the product was sold and they prepared for the next trip into the wilds. Few could be bothered with the logistical difficulties of leading elaborate tourist safaris. Fewer yet wished to incur the overhead of acquiring the supplies and equipment that every client would need. Tarlton approached these hunters when they returned from the field and suggested they put their names on his books.[81] If they wished to take independent jobs, they remained free to do so, but otherwise they could work as a guide and "white hunter" under the management of Newland and Tarlton, while the company would handle the advertising, bookings, logistics, and business aspects of the safari. Of course, for many old-fashioned sportsmen and upper-class settlers, this arrangement also allowed them to earn an income doing what they enjoyed while avoiding the taint of "commerce."

The arrangement proved beneficial to both parties. The scheme appealed to Newland and Tarlton because it enlisted the help of the region's best hunters, giving the professional hunters enough independence and scope for profitable work that they would eschew the temptation to launch competing safari companies (though some eventually did). The scheme appealed to experienced hunters because they were required to supply nothing but their services as a professional hunter. Under the plan, Newland and Tarlton handled the details of the safari, corresponded with the client, planned the trip, equipped the safari, secured indigenous employees needed to make every expedition possible, and even in some cases secured the client as well, saving the professional hunters the troubles of overseas correspondence as well as the thankless task of plying local hotels when business got slow. Thus, Newland and Tarlton brought these hunters together as partners in an organized business possessing the familiar attributes of a modern tourism company, able to advertise overseas, take bookings in advance, and custom tailor a safari to the wishes of the client.

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[81] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 94.

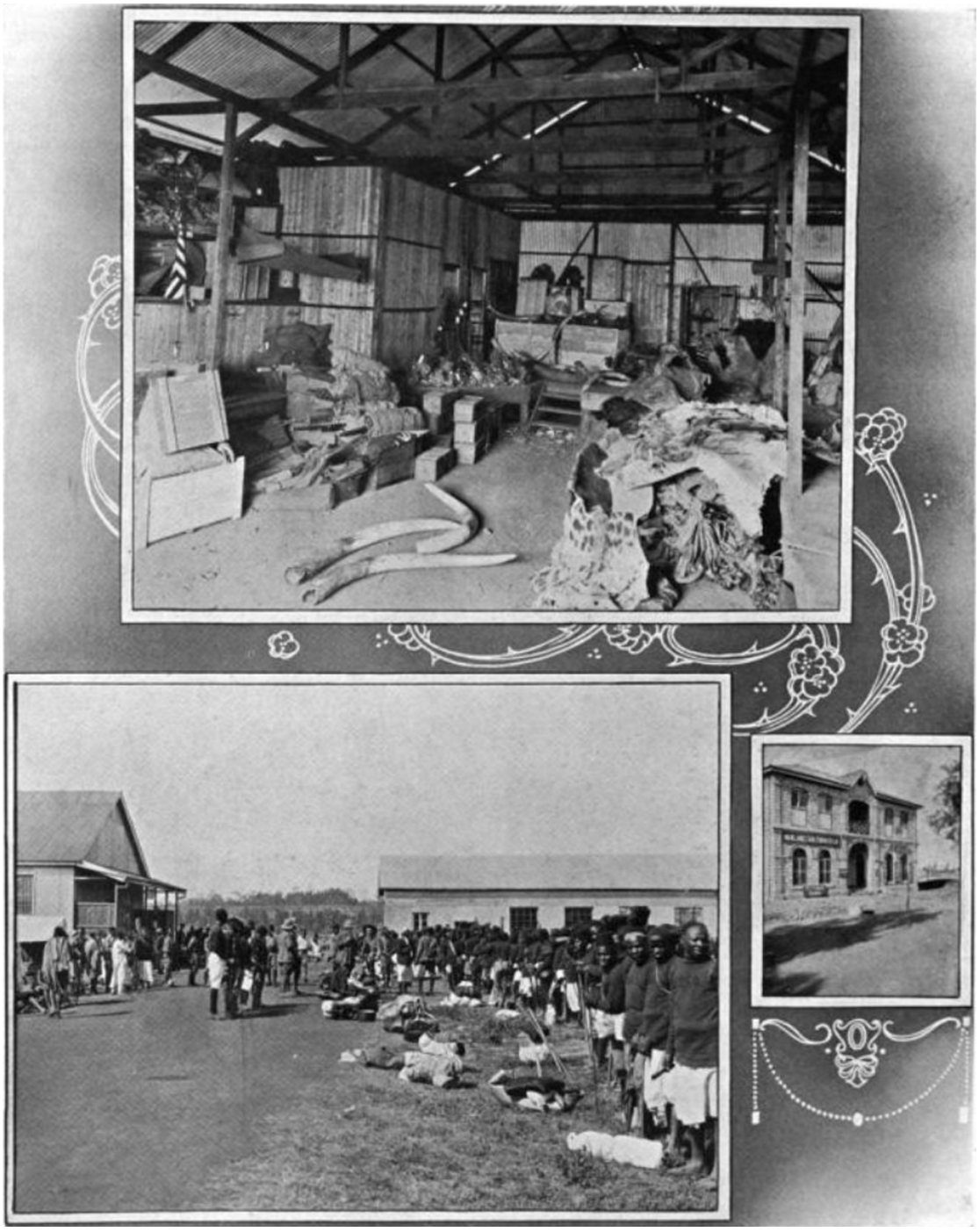

Illustration 6: Newland and Tarlton's buildings, grounds, and storehouses, c. 1908.[82]

[82] Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).

Among those who joined the firm under this arrangement were R.J. Cunninghame, Bill Judd, Alan Black, Geoffrey Buxton, Fritz Schindelar, George Outram, A.C. "Cecil" Hoey, Philip Percival, Al Klein, Lord Cranworth, and Leslie Tarlton himself.[83] It certainly helped that most of these men possessed fame in their own right, particularly in the sporting world. Several of them had published books and were household names in hunting circles. Others, such as Cunninghame, were personally acquainted with royalty, held prominent positions in clubs and societies, and were popular in London's social scene. Others were regarded as natural history experts. Their fame had the effect of generating publicity for the company's business. Many visitors, upon reading an account about a famous professional hunter, would write to him to inquire about taking a safari. As long as the professional hunter was under the wing of Newland and Tarlton, he referred the bulk of the organizational and logistical work to the company, while himself serving merely as the guide at the helm of the expedition.

It did not take long for Newland and Tarlton to acquire a degree of fame and name recognition. The company's appeal lay in the wide variety of services it could offer to the visiting sportsman. "We can obtain the traveller's tickets and purchase anything required in London," they proclaimed in an advertising booklet, as well as "arrange for shipment of baggage, ammunition… and relieve him of all the worry incidental to a long journey."[84] They had arranged for the well-established outfitter, Smith, Mackenzie & Co., to meet clients in Mombasa and assist with landing, clearing their belongings, and entraining them on the Uganda Railway. In Nairobi the client would then be met by one of Newland and Tarlton's directors, who personally attended to details and helped the hunter acquire his licenses. Most camp equipment, tents, foodstuffs, liquor, and supplies were offered in Nairobi at reasonable prices.

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[83] Ibid, p. 94.

[84] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 2.

This service saved the client the necessity of transporting a large collection of goods from abroad, which could demand constant attention in buying and shipping, involve customs difficulties en route, and require selling off the gear at the end of the expedition for a fraction of the original cost.[85] Any boxes or goods brought to Nairobi but not required on safari could be stored in lockers at Newland and Tarlton's Nairobi Store (for a fee) until the end of the expedition. Should any additional items be needed up-country, Newland and Tarlton had arranged with various traders to honor orders made on credit by clients, whose receipts would be forwarded to the store in Nairobi and duly passed on to the clients at the end of the safari. Finally, Newland and Tarlton offered a service that even the independent and self-reliant sportsman might desire: the company's reputation and name recognition among indigenous Africans throughout East Africa meant, in practice, "that all the best natives, whether headmen, gun bearers, servants, or porters are on [Newland and Tarlton's] books," and could be obtained for expeditions with much greater ease than for a foreign sportsman arranging the particulars himself.[86]

Newland and Tarlton soon became known as the premier safari company in Africa and the forerunner of its kind. Lord Cranworth, a prominent settler and member of the board of directors of the company, recalled of Newland and Tarlton's success:

> The years from 1908 till the War (1914) were, as far as East Africa was concerned, the palmy days of big game shooting. Princes, Peers, and American magnates poured out in one continual stream and Newland and Tarlton, whose management later on I joined, waxed so fat that a rival firm entered the field of competition. If my memory is correct, we served from Newland and Tarlton over 300 clients in our peak year and still the game kept up. This period marked the advent of the White Hunter whose essential job it was to smooth the path and minister to the comfort of his clients.[87]

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[85] Ibid, p. 4.
[86] Ibid, p. 5.
[87] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 106.

Emily Host claimed similarly, on the basis of interviews with Leslie Tarlton and others with knowledge of the early safari industry, that Newland and Tarlton became by 1909 the largest private employer of labor in Kenya.[88] Its porters were the "smartest in Africa," as one writer put it, wearing white knickerbockers and blue jerseys with "N&T" stamped across the chest.[89] By 1910, the firm constructed new premises to handle their rapidly expanding operations. The new building was constructed of stone with several large plate glass front windows, electric lighting, and offices at the back. The company arranged for a railway siding to enter the compound to assist their expanded business of importing and exporting.[90] Newland and Tarlton's advantages in the safari trade derived not only from its dedicated business of outfitting safaris and guiding clients, but also from its presence in the business of importing, exporting, forwarding, customs, taxidermy, and much else – a range of services that no traditional outfitter, much less a freelance guide, could match.

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88 Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 94.

89 Valerie Pakenham, *The Noonday Sun: Edwardians in the Tropics* (1985), p. 155.

90 "Newland Tarlton & Co., Ltd.: New Premises," *The East African Standard,* 24 September 1910, p. 10.

Illustration 7: Newland and Tarlton's headquarters c. 1910, which John McCutcheon called the "busiest place in Nairobi."[91]

Among Newland and Tarlton's admiring clients was John McCutcheon, a journalist and cartoonist for the *Chicago Tribune* who accompanied Carl Akeley's second safari in 1909 and spent time in the company of Theodore Roosevelt. In 1910 McCutcheon commented: "The firm has systematized methods so much that it is simple for them to do what would be matters of endless worry to the stranger."[92] All the intricate tasks involved in a safari would be directed by Newland and Tarlton and handled by the Africans the company employed. For a certain price, the wealthy hunter could have any luxuries he desired in the middle of the African bush:

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[91] Source of image: John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1910). Photo by W.D. Boyce.

[92] John T. McCutcheon, "With McCutcheon in Africa: Seeing Nairobi," *Dallas Morning News* (30 January 1910), p. 2. Reprinted from *The Chicago Tribune*.

bathtubs, ornate furniture, feather beds, silver and crystal, copious amounts of alcohol, and numerous other luxuries.

> Newland & Tarlton [McCutcheon continued] is the firm that outfits most shooting parties that start out from Nairobi. They do all the preliminary work and relieve you of most of the worry. If you wish them to do so, they will get your complete outfit, so you need not bring anything with you but a suit case. They will get your guns, your tents, your food supplies, your mules, your headman, your cook, your gun bearers, your askaris (native soldiers), your interpreter, your ammunition and your porters. They will have the whole outfit ready for you when you arrive in Nairobi.[93]

So extensive were their services and ubiquitous their presence, McCutcheon claimed, that "when you arrive in British East Africa a-shooting bent, you will hear of Newland & Tarlton so often that you will think they own the country."[94]

* * *

Despite Newland and Tarlton's role as the premier organizer and outfitter of the tourist safari, much of the practical work in the field fell to the professional hunters and guides they employed to lead each expedition. In addition to recruiting these experienced local hunters into the company's fold, Newland and Tarlton also turned them into a kind of institution that acquired a prominent status in the cultural mythology of the African hunt by inventing the famous, but often misused, name, "white hunter." R.J. Cunninghame, who was employed by Newland and Tarlton and became famous for his role as the guide to Theodore Roosevelt in 1909-10, wrote of the label "white hunter" in the *Handbook of East Africa* in 1912:

> It must not be supposed by the term white hunter… that this individual is to be employed in the actual shooting of big game. His duties are to take all the responsibility of the management, order, and discipline of the caravan… to be well acquainted with the districts in which his employer desires to shoot… to act as an interpreter, and by his knowledge of the country generally to [be] an efficient adviser

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[93] John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1910), pp. 49-50.
[94] Ibid, pp. 49-50.

> in helping the sportsman to plan his trip, thereby making the best possible advantage of the time at the traveler's disposal.[95]

The term "white hunter," in other words, referred to a particular kind of hunter, one who derived his livelihood from guiding and organizing safaris for wealthy visitors from overseas.[96] White hunters, by this definition, were not simply white men hunting in Africa, but rather professional men engaged in the modern business of tourism, whose job required them to organize and lead tourist safaris, to supervise the employees of the expedition, and to use their own skills as a hunter to ensure the safety and success of the client. Although skill and experience as a hunter were prerequisites for the job, white hunters were really more akin to high-class guides, rarely pulling the trigger themselves. The definition of "white hunter" adopted by Emily Host, when she began narrowing down the list of men to be interviewed for her book of the same name, strikes close to the mark of the usage accepted by most participants in the industry: "a man who earned his living by acting as professional escort, guide, protector, advisor, safari manager and companion to visitors who wished to venture into the game fields."[97]

Much confusion has been caused because the term "white hunter" possessed a certain cachet in the cultural milieu of the early twentieth century and was prised from its original context as a job description for the safari guide, becoming instead a popular cultural image that was lionized in film and literature and reinforced, often unwittingly, by various writers on the subject. Most popular representations of the white hunter depict him as a brave white man, flanked by African assistants, pursuing wild animals in the African bush on some heroic

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[95] R.J. Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," in *Handbook of British East Africa,* ed. H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan (London: Sifton Praed, 1912, 1913), pp. 154-155.

[96] This point is developed at length in an article by the present author. See Simmons, "Rethinking the White Hunter: Professional Safari Guides in East Africa's Tourism Industry," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* under review.

[97] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 8.

adventure. Many such portrayals make little distinction between the various kinds of white men hunting in Africa. In some expressions, including those by Kipling and Orwell, the white hunter is depicted as an imperial officer or soldier in pursuit of exotic big game.[98] In others, such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness,* he is a rapacious ivory hunter in the heart of Africa.[99] Others yet depict the white hunter as an explorer, a solitary adventurer, or even a colonist denuding the land of game to make way for agriculture and settlement.

Perhaps the most enduring misapprehension borne of popular culture is that the iconic white hunter was the name given to the rich white men hunting in Africa as visitors. This usage has been attached, for example, to many tourists going on safari for leisure, and even to Clint Eastwood's role in *White Hunter, Black Heart* (1990), which portrayed the real-life director John Huston in a thinly fictionalized account of the making of *The African Queen,* a story of a visiting film director who becomes obsessed with killing elephants while producing a film on location in Africa.[100] Many other films repeat the convenient tropes that the white hunter was a swashbuckling, gun-toting, overtly masculine figure, wearing khaki and a pith helmet, and invariably portrayed by strong-jawed movie stars such as Clark Gable, Stewart Granger, Robert Redford, and Clint Eastwood.[101] It is true, of course, that the specific name "white hunter" is not always used by writers and filmmakers, but the image of the white-skinned hunter in exotic locales is depicted in such vivid terms — sometimes as hero, sometimes as farce — that the label came to be conflated with the original intended meaning of the term. Even many

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[98] Rudyard Kipling, "The Tomb of His Ancestors (1895)." Chapter 4 in *The Day's Work* (New York: Doubleday & McClure, 1898); George Orwell, "Shooting an Elephant" (1936). Chapter 6 in *A Collection of Essays (*New York: Harcourt, 1970).

[99] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness (*London and Edinburgh: Blackwood's Magazine, 1899).

[100] Clint Eastwood in *White Hunter, Black Heart* (1990).

[101] Clark Gable in *Mogambo* (1953); Stewart Granger in *King Solomon's Mines* (1950); Robert Redford in *Out of Africa* (1988); and Clint Eastwood in *White Hunter, Black Heart* (1990). For a scholarly account of the white hunter in motion pictures, see Kenneth M. Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York, 1994).

professional historians have reinforced these popular conceptions of the white hunter by focusing on the cultural symbolism of European hunting in Africa, in which the various kinds of white men hunting in Africa are lumped together into a general theory that depicts them as agents and symbols of the imperial relationship, whose presence in Africa reflected the inequality of races, the social exclusions, and the displays of symbolic dominance that characterized the British Empire in Africa.[102]

Those who worked in the safari industry and knew the correct terminology often credit the origin of the term to an oft-repeated but probably apocryphal story involving Lord Delamere, the famous settler and politician, who possessed vast tracts of land in Kenya and employed many Africans. According to the story, Delamere hired a Somali hunter to provide meat for his many employees, and later he hired another professional hunter, Alan Black, a white man, to accompany him on a safari to Somaliland in the 1890s. On one occasion Delamere reputedly quipped: "This is my black hunter," pointing to the Somali, "and this is my white hunter, Alan Black." This story is undocumented, however, and varies widely between accounts.[103] Although this story is amusing and memorable, and although Delamere was clever enough to say such a thing, it is improbable that a story that makes reference to skin

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[102] The authoritative studies advancing this view remain those of John MacKenzie. See especially: *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988); idem., 'Hunting in Eastern and Central Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to Zimbabwe', in *Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History,* edited by William J. Baker and James A. Mangan (New York, 1987); idem., 'Chivalry, Social Darwinsim, and Ritualized Killing: the Hunting Ethos in Central Africa to 1914', in David Anderson and Richard Grove (eds.), *Conservation and Africa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); idem., 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times', in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Masculinity and Morality* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987); idem., 'Hunting and Juvenile Literature', in Jeffrey Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988).

[103] Examples of this story are innumerable, but see, for instance, Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: 1990), p. 49; and Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), p. 6.

color and not to the safari guide marks the origin of the term "white hunter" as it came to be known and used.

These common conceptions of the term, though necessary to mention here to dispel misapprehensions, have tended to obscure both the origins of the term "white hunter" and its contemporary usage in East Africa where the label was invented and mainly used. It is certainly true that the occupation of guiding visiting hunters on safari preceded the establishment of the term "white hunter." Although most early professional guides worked for Newland and Tarlton or one of the other safari services available in East Africa at the time, others became freelancers at earlier dates, taking out safaris when and to the extent that demand arose. One employee of the British East Africa Company, James Martin, an illiterate Maltese who was born in 1857 with the name Antonio Martini, had guided explorers and occasional sportsman for pay as early as the 1880s.[104] Many other writers have found evidence of men acting as paid guides in the 1890s and early 1900s, including R.J. Cunninghame, Bill Judd, the Hill cousins, Alan Black, Konrad Schauer, and Peregrine Herne. Their stories are told elsewhere.[105] What matters to the present study is that, even before the advent of the first dedicated safari companies, a market was emerging for experienced hunters to serve visitors as paid professional guides.

The invention and growing usage of the label "white hunter" to refer to the leader of the tourist safari is important to the themes of the present analysis for two reasons. First, it indicates a watershed moment, around 1908, when the intermittent avocation of guiding visiting hunters gained enough practitioners to warrant its own occupational designation.

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[104] Frederick Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1930), p. 66.
[105] See especially: Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of Early East African Hunters* (Palmerston North, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007); Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of the African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1999); Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996); Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990).

Secondly, the advent of this occupational label facilitated the actual transaction of business, not only by denoting a specialized service that visiting hunters could request by name, but also by advertising the allures of the safari through the creation of an iconic cultural symbol that would in time acquire its own mythology.

According to the best available evidence, the label "white hunter" appears to have acquired its association with safari tourism in early 1908, when it was used in print and given a clearly defined meaning by an advertising pamphlet produced by Newland and Tarlton, Ltd.[106] This pamphlet, circulated widely overseas, including to the American president Theodore Roosevelt, printed the words WHITE HUNTER boldly in the margin in all capital letters as part of a list of services offered by the firm. "Should a visitor prefer to have with him a white man who knows the ropes and speaks the language," the advertisement explained, "we can always supply thoroughly reliable men for this position."[107] A white hunter, by Newland and Tarlton's definition, was a man who would look after and manage the safari, give the benefits of his knowledge and experience as a hunter in Africa, and ensure good sport for the visiting client's party. Whether and to what extent the first readers of this pamphlet grasped that they were witnessing the introduction of a new term into the English language is immaterial. The new meaning of "white hunter" caught on quickly and became the standard label for the professional hunting guide in East Africa, reinforced by Newland and Tarlton's role in encouraging its use by clients as well as among the wider public.

The evidence suggests that the term was not simply a label used by Newland and Tarlton and the handful of guides the company employed, but rather that it gained wide currency and become firmly ensconced in the lexicon of the East Africa safari. G.H. Anderson,

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[106] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967).
[107] Ibid, p. 14.

a professional hunter, wrote in his recollections that "the advent of the White Hunter [the occupation, not the term] was in 1903 and 1904, when British East Africa (now Kenya) became known to sportsmen as a new and marvelous country for all big game."[108] Lord Cranworth was somewhat closer to the mark when he proclaimed in a widely read book written in 1912 that "the white hunter himself is an institution of the last three or four years" — a guide, go-between, and organizer of "immense convenience to shooting tourists."[109] R.J. Cunninghame, Theodore Roosevelt's guide, wrote in the *Handbook of East Africa* the same year that "the advisability of engaging a guide or white hunter is nowadays very generally asked."[110] It was also during the year 1912 that R.B. Woosnam, the chief game warden of the British East Africa Protectorate (later Kenya), announced in the Game Department's *Annual Report* his intention to establish in the coming year a "Professional White Hunters' or Guides' Association," an initiative that accorded the new term something resembling official recognition. "Practically every shooting party which visits the Protectorate," Woosnam explained, "engages the services of a white hunter who acts as guide, manages the transport details of the caravan, and takes the sportsmen to various districts where the different varieties of game are to be obtained."[111] The meaning of the label advanced so far by the 1920s that it was used not only to describe the man, "white hunter," but also an activity, "white hunting," which was widely understood to mean guiding tourist safaris. In the early 1920s, Denys Finch Hatton wrote to Kermit Roosevelt: "I am thinking of doing a bit of white hunting to earn an honest penny."[112] In

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[108] G. H. Anderson, *African Safaris* (Longbeach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 154.
[109] Lord Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making: Or, Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 234.
[110] R.J. Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," in *Handbook of British East Africa,* ed. H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan (London: Sifton Praed, 1912, 1913), pp. 154-155.
[111] "Annual Report of Game Warden, 1910-11 & 1911-12" (R.B. Woosnam), Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Ltd, 1983).
[112] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and his Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 158.

addition to becoming a distinguished professional hunter, Finch Hatton also became famous as Karen Blixen's lover and was portrayed by Robert Redford in the 1985 film, *Out of Africa*. Somewhat later, in 1973, Francine du Plessix Gray, an American journalist who had spent time on safari, wrote that "the tradition of white hunters is so ingrained that the few Africans or Asians training for the profession will say, 'I am becoming an "African White Hunter" or "an Asian White Hunter"…'."[113]

The term became so powerfully associated with the guide of the tourist safari that it was shunned by professional ivory hunters and ordinary white settlers, its usage limited almost exclusively to the territories of East Africa, particularly to the colony that became Kenya, where tourism was most developed. White settlers and farmers hunting in the region knew the prevailing usage of the term and accordingly objected to being called "white hunters." They were white, of course, and they hunted, but they were not "white hunters." That label was reserved for professional guides. In like manner, Marcus Daly, a famous ivory hunter in Rhodesia, wrote with condescension in the 1930s: "The term *white hunter* is of purely Nairobi manufacture and was never heard of in Rhodesia where all the best hunters are found."[114] Daly was correct (more than he probably knew) that the term originated in Nairobi, but the reason had to do with its specific meaning as a label for the safari guide. Since the term was associated with the safari tourism industry and used to describe professional safari guides, it was only natural that term would be scorned in a remote, relatively inaccessible country like Rhodesia where a sizable tourism industry had yet to arise.

The phrase "white hunter" occasionally appears before 1908, but always in a descriptive sense, merely to denote skin color and to distinguish hunters of European descent from their indigenous African counterparts. Winston Churchill's account of his East African

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[113] Francine du Plessix Gray, 'On Safari', *The New York Review of Books* (June 28, 1973), p. 26.
[114] Marcus Daly, *Big Game Hunting and Adventure, 1897-1936* (London: Macmillan, 1937), p. 161.

safari, for example, published in 1908, uses the term only in this descriptive sense.[115] A book published in the same year by Abel Chapman never used the term "white hunter," despite Chapman's close association with Newland and Tarlton and the rest of the safari industry.[116] Chapman's book was, moreover, the best account of the East African safari to that date. He had an eye for novelty and word etymologies, even venturing in the first paragraph of his Preface to introduce the term "safari" to the English language as the chosen name for the new variety of sport hunting expedition in Africa. If the term "white hunter" was known or used prior to 1908, either Chapman or Churchill would have surely mentioned it and taken credit for introducing it to the public.

Regardless of who actually deserves credit for inventing the new usage of the term "white hunter," it is possible to propose a hypothesis, based on the context of the times, about why the label was adopted by Newland and Tarlton and promoted by the industry. The obvious names to use would have been simply "guide" or "professional hunter," terms that would eventually be preferred (and are frequently used in this study) to describe the leader of the tourist safari. In the lexicon of the time, however, both terms were unsuitable. The simple label "guide" referred in most instances to the indigenous African, who navigated the land and helped the hunting party find game. As such, the name failed adequately to encompass the full range of organizational duties required of the head of a safari expedition. More to the point, "guide" was associated with the wrong race, and suggested a lowly occupation instead of the glamorous jack-of-all-trades that Newland and Tarlton intended their white hunters to be.

In like manner, "professional hunter" was already taken as well, referring in conventional usage to the *commercial* hunter, the individual who killed animals to profit from the sale of ivory, skins, horns, and meat on the commercial market. Events of the nineteenth

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[115] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908).
[116] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908).

century, however, had given professional hunters a bad name, particularly among the gentlemanly sportsmen who fancied themselves as the guardians and trustees of wild game, and who, as rich men, became a leading source of safari tourists. The decimation of once-vast herds of big-game in southern Africa in the nineteenth century, and the near extermination of the North America bison by the 1870s and 1880s, led many sportsmen to argue that so-called professional hunters had no right to profit from the indiscriminate slaughter of big-game animals in a world where animal populations were facing the threat of extinction.[117] The advent of the modern repeating rifle, with its high-velocity bullets and extreme accuracy, had leveled the playing field, making it possible for fortune-seekers and farmers — not just sportsmen — to kill animals with relative ease, regardless of the skill they possessed or the sporting customs they observed. Elite traditions of game preservation, found in British and European culture, regarded wildlife as a sacred trust that should be preserved for posterity through observation of higher sporting customs. Critics thus denounced "professional hunting" as atavistic and unsportsmanlike, and detrimental to the wildlife they felt entrusted to protect. If professional hunters were allowed to continue slaughtering wild animals indiscriminately in order to enrich themselves from the sale of animal parts, it would not be long before there would be no game left to shoot.

In these circumstances, to have applied the label "professional hunter" to Newland and Tarlton's distinguished guides would have been to associate their new tourist enterprise with the rapacious professional hunters who killed for the commercial market – the greedy, unscrupulous, dishonorable profiteers, who the imperial authorities were seeking to eradicate

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[117] Gentlemanly sportsmen and conservationists voiced these fears frequently at the turn of the century in publications that are too numerous to list, but two sources that frequently expressed this strand of British upper-class thought are *The Field* (London), a magazine that has been produced continually since 1853; and the journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (later Fauna Preservation Society), whose publications are collated in *Oryx: 1903-2003: the Centenary Archive* (Cambridge, UK: Fauna and Flora International, 2003).

at the dawn of the twentieth century.[118] The term possessed too many negative connotations to be effectively advertised overseas among the elite and gentlemanly tourists who possessed both the leisure time and wealth to enjoy the services that Newland and Tarlton wished to sell. What was needed instead was a memorable, iconic figure — an advertising logo, like the Marlboro Man — to present a masculine and romanticized image of the white hunter's life and trade, an image that would appeal to the type of client the industry sought to attract. A new term was needed to describe a new occupation, and Newland and Tarlton chose "white hunter" as the best label for the breed.

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The meaning of the term "white hunter" and the nature of his occupational duties matter to the present study for two principal reasons. The first is that, for most of the period between 1900 to 1939, the white hunter was the central figure of the safari industry. White hunters largely determined the character of the tourist safari and directly accounted for the experience of their clients. Secondly, because the image of the white hunter became such an iconic cultural figure and evoked so much public interest, it functioned as a kind of indirect advertising for the safari industry, inspiring people to seek the allures of "wild" Africa, rather like in former times hunters had been attracted to Africa by the stories of Rider Haggard.

Newland and Tarlton clearly grasped both sources of appeal when they invented the term and organized their business. Since many outfitters, suppliers, and agents already existed in East Africa at this time, Newland and Tarlton needed to convince both tourist travelers and

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[118] The degree of commitment shown by imperial authorities to eradicate the commercial trade of animal commodities, not just in Britain's colonies but in those of several other European powers as well, is attested to in a series of Parliamentary command papers that were compiled, bound for publication, and presented to both Houses of Parliament under the title, *Correspondence* [and *Further Correspondence*] *Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* [1896-1913] (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906-1913). The records come in five parts and are listed as command papers under the following numbers: Cd. 3189 (c. 1896-1906), Cd. 4472 (c. 1906-1908), Cd. 5136 (1908-1910), Cd. 5775 (c. 1910-1911), and Cd. 6671 (c. 1911-1913).

self-styled adventurers that their endeavors would benefit from the assistance of an all-inclusive, dedicated safari firm that offered the full package of services, including a white hunter to guide the client and manage all the logistics of the expedition. The strategy employed was to emphasize the advantages that white hunters could offer to visiting sportsmen. Being white was, of course, a critical aspect of the new occupation, a fact made plain not only by the word choice itself, but also by the way the white hunter's role was cast in popular writings and commercial advertisements. In a newly colonized land, a white hunter could function, for the safari industry, as a mediator between the cultural world of European civilization, from which most clients were drawn, and the physical world of the African land and people, which still seemed dark and mysterious to the prejudices of the European traveler.

"The White Hunters in Eastern Africa," wrote G.H. Anderson, a member of the profession, "are mostly [white] settlers who own farms, as it is by no means an all-time job."[119] Being mostly British colonists meant that the white hunter generally spoke the same language as his clients, shared the same beliefs and attitudes, and possessed a sense of what his clients expected to encounter owing to a shared identity of being white, English-speaking, or European — whatever white, Western identity the occasion required. Conversely, as Lord Cranworth explained in 1912, because the white hunter had made his home in Africa, the "usual type speaks Swahili, the language of the Safari, acts as go-between to the porters, servants, gun-bearers, and their masters, oversees all the detail and routine of the camp," and by such means "smooths the way and is an immense convenience to the shooting tourists, to whom he also secures at least double the bag which they would otherwise obtain."[120]

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[119] G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Longbeach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 157.
[120] Lord Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making: Or, Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 234.

Here is a striking example of what Andrew Thompson and Gary Magee describe in a slightly different context as a "cultural economy" of Britishness, a co-ethnic network of economic activity based on the language, culture, race, attitudes, and expectations shared between white hunters and their clients.[121] The forces driving safari tourism, to adapt this interpretation, were not driven by an "impersonal" market, but rather by specific cultural and individual preferences for destinations perceived to be ethnically British, even if these locations were found in the heart of Africa. Apart from personal and familial connections that many tourists had with settlers in East Africa, visitors were also attracted by Kenya's reputation as a "white man's country," a place where leaders of the safari trade could be counted on to be "British" in habit and outlook, and trusted to do business in ways acceptable and familiar to people from the West.

This choice of the term "white hunter" did, of course, reflect the racial prejudices that prevailed in British colonial Africa. The term "white hunter" does not merely indicate his role as a cultural intermediary, chosen because he straddled the two worlds of Africa and the West. The status and predominance of the white hunter in the safari industry also reflected the racial attitudes of the time and place, which held that indigenous Africans were not qualified or competent to act as the head organizer of a major safari expedition.[122] Many white hunters did, of course, acknowledge the invaluable expertise of their African counterparts, particularly the esteemed positions of tracker and gun-bearer, but even the ablest Africans were excluded from being the head of a safari until many decades later. Moreover, even while Africans were excluded from leading roles because of racial prejudice, the actual whiteness of the guides was

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[121] Gary Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[122] The authoritative study of race and hunting in Kenya is Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (James Currey, 2006); and idem., "Hunters, Poachers, and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya," *Journal of African History,* Vol. 30 (1989), pp. 247-264.

used to appeal to potential visitors. One chronicler of the safari, Kenneth Cameron, suggests that the adjective "white" was inserted to reassure the racial prejudices of the predominantly white visitors who would become the industry's principal clientele. Wealthy white tourists from Europe and North America, in other words, wanted a calm, assured, hardy, *white* face to accompany them on their adventures in a foreign and dangerous land.[123] In the social and mental world prevailing in the early twentieth century, it seems probable that the new usage of the term "white hunter," referring to the professional hunting guide, was invented by Newland and Tarlton as a kind of marketing strategy, aimed at tourist hunters from the West, by which the potential safari client and his racial prejudices might be reassured by the knowledge that his trustworthy African guide would be white.

The white hunter's role as the head of the tourist safari required a great deal of practical and organizational skill in addition to experience in the field and the necessity of white skin. Acquiring the skills and reputation to make it as a successful white hunter in East Africa was rather akin to succeeding as a painter in Paris: it was difficult to become established in the profession and even harder to earn a decent livelihood, but success and prestige, when it came, could be very great indeed. Besides organizing the safari, taking his clients to the best shooting grounds, and ensuring they obtained trophies, the white hunter's duties involved the mundane tasks of skinning, curing, and transporting the animals from the field in a good state of preservation. He needed to be familiar with the country's geography, knowing in particular the habits of its wildlife and where the best game could be found. Ideally he should also be able to act as guide to the natural history of the region, identifying not only the hundreds of species of game animals, but also plants, flowers, trees, mountains, peaks, and other geological features of interest to the tourist and traveler. He needed to be well acquainted with the game

[123] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London, 1990), p. 49.

regulations of the country in order to prevent infractions of the law, on good terms with the game warden, and able to control the occasional client who thought the laws existed to be flouted. Finally, of course, he needed to be a good hunter himself, "able to shoot straight and keep his head."[124] And should all of this fail owing to bad luck or unpredictable circumstances, a professional hunter needed to possess a knowledge of doctoring in the field, able to dress wounds, treat malarial fever, and in general to look after the health and safety of his clients and his crew.[125]

These wide-ranging duties led gradually over the course of the twentieth century to the white hunter acquiring an outsized reputation, owing partly to the admiration of clients and journalists, and partly to skillful publicity on the part of safari firms and the white hunters themselves, who wrote books about their experiences. G.H. Anderson, a professional hunter himself, writing in the 1940s, proclaimed that "the White Hunter must be a Jack-of-all-trades, guide philosopher and friend."[126] Robert Ruark, a writer and client, proclaimed in the early 1950s that "the function of a professional hunter on safari is almost godlike." He was possibly the "toughest man in the world," Ruark wrote, "the last of a breed of men who have such a genuine love for the wilds," "willing to literally kill themselves with backbreaking work and daily hunger, on a nine-months-per-year basis, for less pay than a good waiter in New York draws."[127] The white hunter was to be a guide over "trackless wastes." He was the expert on finding game, and of ensuring that his clients filled their tags only with worthy trophies. If a

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[124] G. H. Anderson, *African Safaris* (Longbeach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 155.

[125] The general content described here of the duties of the white hunter was repeated in countless memoirs by professional white hunters and is impossible to attribute to a single source. Robert Ruark, a prominent American journalist and writer, usually takes credit for the literary style of the description, which was published in Robert Ruark, *Horn of the Hunter* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1953). But earlier, and perhaps superior, examples exist, such as Captain M.J. Turner-Dauncey, "The Safari Professional by a South African Who is in It," *East African Standard,* January 1950.

[126] G. H. Anderson, *African Safaris* (Longbeach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 157.

[127] Robert Ruark, *Horn of the Hunter* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1953), p. 70.

client wounded an animal, the professional hunter bore responsibility for following it into the bush to finish it off, an unenviable task that frequently resulted in charges and close shaves with only seconds to react. When a shaky and untried client faced down a charging animal, the professional hunter stood beside him ready to fire both barrels of a heavy double rifle. Even more important than the glamorous duty of killing dangerous animals was the organization of transport and camp routine. "He supervises a tiny portable city," Ruark wrote, selecting camp, pitching tents, collecting water, supplying and preparing food, or supervising those who did.[128] After the First World War, when motorcars came into common use, he needed to be a competent auto-mechanic — able to keep the safari going with spare parts, improvisation, and ingenuity — to repair the almost daily breakdowns of cars caused by the rough terrain.

> As the head of a safari, the hunter finally combines the duties of a sea captain, a bodyguard, a chauffeur, a tracker, a skinner, a headwaiter, a tourist guide, a photographer, a mechanic, a stevedore, an interpreter, a game expert, a gin-rummy partner, drinking companion, social equal, technical superior, boss, employee, and handy man. The difficulty of his position is magnified in that he lives in the pockets of his one or two clients for long weeks, and unless he is a master of tact, nobody is speaking to anyone else when the safari pays off in Nairobi.[129]

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It is impossible to know exactly what proportion of sportsmen and travelers visiting East Africa opted to engage the services of a safari firm and the professional guides the companies employed, but anecdotal evidence suggests that the number was very large and definitely a significant majority. Part of the reason for the popularity of the all-inclusive safari outfitters, particularly Newland and Tarlton, is that it was impossible, in the days of foot safaris requiring porters, to undertake a safari without significant local help. Visitors faced the choice of either doing it oneself, which meant in practice hiring dozens of porters, a cook, tent boys,

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[128] One of the better examples of a description provided by a professional hunter is G.H. Anderson, Chapter 23: "The White Hunter and His Duties," in *African Safaris* (Longbeach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), pp. 154-157.

[129] Robert Ruark, *Horn of the Hunter* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1953), pp. 73-74.

trackers, skinners, headmen, African guides, and all the equipment needed on the journey; or, alternatively, the visitor could organize an expedition in largely the same way but with the benefit of a white hunter who could serve as a go-between and a dedicated safari company that could handle all the logistics, ensuring that the newcomer to East Africa could avoid the inevitable pitfalls of the neophyte. Given the costs of travel by steamship and rail, the costly license fees amounting to hundreds of pounds, and the enormous expense of acquiring equipment and employing so many local Africans, the additional expenses of the all-inclusive outfitter seemed to most a small price to pay to ensure the success of their African safari. As Abel Chapman remarked of this period:

> Two or three years ago, the traveller-sportsman was received in East Africa with open arms, welcomed as a benefactor and a power; the newspapers rapturously applauded the coming of this or that Nimrod, recorded all his movements and exploits; he was, in short, received *en prince* – and charged as such! As a simple matter of fact, the traveller-sportsman was (and still remains) the best customer of the Colony; while the game is still its best asset.[130]

Some of the statistical details of the early safari tourism industry, to the extent they exist, including the number of tourists visiting each year and the average amounts of their expenditures, will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Our purpose here has not been to establish the economic scale of the industry, but rather to show that, in terms of structure and organization, the period spanning 1900 to 1914 witnessed the advent of the safari industry in what amounted to its modern form, based on the establishment of the first all-inclusive safari outfitters and the advent of the professional guide. Thereafter, during the next four decades of British colonial rule in East Africa, the luxury guided safari of the kind pioneered by Newland and Tarlton in 1905 constituted the core of East Africa's tourism industry. The predominance of hunting would gradually fade over the course of the twentieth

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[130] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 297.

century, overtaken in steps by wildlife photography and other kinds of scenic and nature tourism, but the basic elements of the luxury safari maintained a preeminent status and remained one of the most economically significant parts of the regional tourism industry, able to attract wealthy tourists who traveled first class, stayed for extended periods, and spent considerable sums in East Africa.

Chapter 2: Making a Tourist Destination

The emergence and growth of the safari industry after 1900, whose history we traced in the first chapter, was made possible by a set of conditions that made East Africa attractive and feasible as a destination for visiting tourists. The industry itself did its part, of course, to attract clients to the region, since it offered a variety of services that appealed to the visitor, and by its very existence it raised the prospects of East Africa as compared with other parts of the continent. Yet ultimately the business ventures established by such firms as Newland and Tarlton sought to capture and capitalize upon a trend that was already well afoot. As the popularity of hunting in East Africa increased beginning in the 1890s, the *demand* for safari services that existed among visiting sportsmen ran ahead of the *supply* that safari companies could provide. This trend drove the establishment of outfitters and guides and resulted in the foundation of Newland and Tarlton in 1905. The purpose of this chapter is to explain, by reference mainly to environmental and political developments unfolding during the first decade of British rule, why British East Africa, the country we know to day as Kenya, became after 1900 the preeminent destination of the sportsman and tourist wishing to enjoy the allures of Africa.

Identifying the precise causes and conditions that underlay the development of a complex phenomenon like tourism necessarily involves a degree of selection from the myriad factors of importance. Many tourists were attracted to East Africa by the stories of hunting, exploration, and adventure that proliferated in the nineteenth century, particularly the fictional tales of H. Rider Haggard, and the real-life exploits of famous nineteenth-century sportsmen.[131]

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[131] See, in particular, *The Works of H. Rider Haggard,* One Volume Edition (New York: Walter J. Black, 1928); William Cornwallis Harris, *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa* (London, 1839); Roualeyn Gordon Cumming, *The Lion Hunter* (1915); Idem., *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa,* 2 vols. (London, 1850); W. Edward Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer* (London, 1900); Arthur H. Neumann and Emily Mary Bowdler Sharpe, *Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa* (1898); Frederick Courteney Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa: Being a Narrative of Nine Years*

Chapters to follow will discuss the roles of transportation technology and infrastructure that facilitated tourist travel. The discussion here focuses on particular aspects of the issue, analyzing why the tourist safari emerged when and where it did, and the conditions that underlay the development of the industry. It explains first the natural and environmental advantages enjoyed by East Africa in general and Kenya in particular, which made the region popular among tourists. The chapter then turns to several important human factors that weighed heavily on the minds of tourists when selecting a destination in Africa, including the establishment of British imperial rule and the security it provided for travelers, the arrival of British settlers who owned and operated most safari companies and tourist services, and the introduction in 1900 of comprehensive hunting regulations that enhanced the prospects of the regional tourism industry by saving the wildlife upon which the safari industry relied.

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It is easy to assume, with the advantages of hindsight and given the natural abundance of its wildlife, that East Africa's place in the annals of wildlife tourism was assured. Yet nowhere in sub-Saharan Africa in 1900 did the phenomenon yet exist except in embryonic form. It was far from clear that East Africa would attain such a prominent status in the years to come. Judging by the sheer scale of hunting, southern Africa already led the way in 1900. Parts of central Africa possessed higher concentrations of game. East Africa had certainly attracted its share of explorers, adventurers, missionaries, and sportsmen in the late nineteenth century, but it was usually regarded at this time as too wild and untamed – if not too dangerous – to be a viable destination for the tourist in search of leisure.

This state of affairs began to change in the early years of the twentieth century owing to a variety of political, economic, technological, and social changes that made East Africa

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Spent Amongst the Game of the Far Interior of South Africa (1881, reprint 2001); Frederick Courtenay Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London, 1908).

attractive as a tourist destination. The changes occurring in East Africa itself could not have led to the emergence of a safari tourism industry without corresponding movement to make the newly "discovered" lands known across the West at the very moment when interest in Africa was reaching a crescendo. The emergence of a safari tourism industry depended upon the proclivities of travelers, and the choices they made *as consumers* about where and how to enjoy a unique and adventurous kind of holiday that until then had been impossible to undertake. Early sportsmen and tourists, when they surveyed the globe in search of a destination, held at their disposal maps and books by the great explorers and geographers of the age, which told them where to go, what to see, and advised on places to avoid. As East Africa was explored and mapped, as it was integrated into the British world, and as its wildlife and scenic attractions became known through guidebooks and factual accounts, travelers and sportsmen were increasingly informed of the delights that awaited them and how to plan a trip. At the same time, stories of African hunting adventures first trickled and then flooded across the world, establishing models of thought and behavior that tourists would seek to emulate for years to come. Over time the genre grew to include hundreds (if not thousands) of books as well as innumerable articles, letters, and correspondence circulated in hunting periodicals, clubs, social groups, and among select groups of friends.

Such writings were never value-free descriptions of Africa. "Tourism," as the historian Eric Zuelow writes in his survey of the subject, "is as much about ideas as it is about specific places and spaces." Guidebooks and writings "mediated the meanings" associated with different locales, told travelers how to experience a place, and attracted tourists by appealing to ideas and attitudes held by potential visitors.[132] In the context of the safari, this meant appealing to the sense of adventure and masculine self-expression provided by the big-game

[132] Eric G.E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

hunt. It meant evoking what Edmund Burke called the "sublime" – the wild, unpredictable, untamed land of great contrasts and extremes, in which the combination of beauty and terror was the attraction: the sense of danger and adventure that heightened the senses and put humans back in touch with emotions that had been subdued by modern, industrialized, civilized life.[133] Many hunting accounts by famous sportsmen made a point of spreading aristocratic ideas of animal conservation, teaching their readers how to hunt like a proper gentleman, and condemning behavior that broke the rules of acceptable sport. Literature that attracted tourists to Africa also taught them how to experience it. Above all, giving meaning to this unique tourist experience in Africa meant, in the final instance, celebrating how "wild Africa" had been improved by the beneficent and civilizing effects of the British Empire, ensuring that the sublime wildness of the land would be overlaid by manicured English farms and homesteads, technologically advanced infrastructure and amenities, and the comforts of a luxury safari camp. To Victorian and Edwardian readers, this constituted evidence that British colonists, travelers, and hunters deserved to be there and must fulfill their destiny as guardians of a sacred trust that extended to wildlife and nature no less than to Africans under British tutelage.

This chapter explains, then, how the changes occurring in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helped to bring East Africa into harmony with the expectations of the individuals who would become its earliest tourists. After 1900 East Africa, and particularly the colony that became Kenya, was increasingly chosen from the list of possible destinations by the wealthy elites interested in a safari adventure. The popularity of the region was not only augmented by accounts coming out of Africa, but also by real, substantive advantages – some natural, some introduced – that made East Africa attractive as a destination for the intending hunter and tourist. Many of these advantages derived from East Africa's natural endowments

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[133] Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757).

of wildlife and landscape. Others emerged from a confluence of developments — economic, social, cultural, and technological — favorable to tourist travel, linked to the establishment of the British colonial state. This is not to suggest that safari tourism would have been stillborn in the absence of British imperial rule, but rather that the Empire provided an umbrella of security, accelerated the establishment of infrastructure, protected wild animals with comprehensive hunting regulations, and linked the wild lands of East Africa with the wider world through networks of economic exchange, travel, and the flow of information.

East Africa's advantages as a tourist destination at the dawn of the century owed primarily to the abundance and variety of its wildlife and scenic attractions. East Africa is home to hundreds of species of mammals, the best known of which are big-game species, such as elephant, rhinoceros, lion, leopard, cape buffalo, giraffe, zebra, hippo, kudu, hartebeest, and other varieties of plains game. Early visitors were impressed by the unique varieties of animals no less than their abundance. So vivid are the resulting descriptions and images of East Africa's wildlife that even today the most well known species are probably as familiar to typical inhabitants of Europe and North America as the wildlife native to their own lands. It might even be supposed that, for many observers, such signature species are the dominating image that enters the mind's eye when mention is made of the continent of Africa. In East Africa, in certain areas when the conditions are right, virtually all of the region's most famous big-game species can be observed in their natural habitats in the space of a single day, and this contributed powerfully to the region's allures as a destination for travelers and sportsmen at the turn of the century no less than today.

Much of the richness of East Africa's wildlife attractions resulted from the region's unique geology and highly varied topography. It is a region of dramatic contrasts in landscape and habitat. The land is marked, in spectacular intervals, by high plateaus, mountains and volcanoes, ripples of hills that stretch across the landscape like waves in the sea, and a deep

trough running the length of the region from north to south, called the Rift Valley. Interspersed between the high plateaus and mountains lie wide lowland flats, stretching plains, and deep basins that filled with water to form inland lakes. The variations of topography and elevation create a corresponding variety of climates and habitats, some regions dry and parched, others luxuriant with jungle-like vegetation, but most of the region — above all its richest game lands — consisting of open grasslands mixed with sporadic bush and forest cover.

The game-rich highlands of East Africa also benefitted from what Europeans regarded as a climate "distinctly favorable to the visitor."[134] Although coastal East Africa is hot and tropical, Nairobi and the highlands sit atop a high plateau that ensures cool, pleasant weather year round. Nairobi is located just over one mile above sea level, while the high savannas and surrounding hills reach as high as 8,000 feet or more. Cool, dry air can be expected nearly year round. Average high temperatures in Nairobi, for example, range between 70 and 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and average lows between 48 and 56 degrees, every month of the year. Temperatures range slightly cooler at higher elevations, and slightly warmer in low areas, particularly near the coast and in the northern areas near Somalia. There is very little seasonal variation in the weather because of the region's location astride the equator. The only major seasonal weather event results from the monsoonal rains that come twice annually, first the "long rains" in April and May, followed by "short rains" in November and December. Cloudy and humid weather follows the rains, but the remainder of the year is relatively dry and sunny and lacks extreme weather events. Visitors delighted in the cool, crisp night air and rarely complained of excessive heat in the highlands. Meanwhile, the high elevation made most of the region inhospitable to the kinds of mosquitoes that carried malaria, while the tsetse fly was usually confined to belts of thick vegetation at lower elevations.

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[134] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 32.

The richness and variety of the region's ecology and wildlife, coupled with its pleasant and relatively disease-free climate, proved to be a great attraction to visitors. G.H. Anderson, a professional guide who hunted in nine different African countries, reflected the general attitude of visitors and locals alike on the natural advantages East Africa possessed as a tourist destination: "From what I have seen and read, there is nothing to compare in variety and quantity of game, from elephant downwards, with what may be found in Eastern Africa, with its ever-changing and beautiful scenery of every type, from snow-clad mountains to forest and park-like country and last, but not least, a delightful climate."[135]

It may well be supposed that other parts of the world offered wildlife spectacles to rival those found in East Africa, that some places indeed possessed even more interesting species in closer proximity, and that even East Africa's attractions were duplicated elsewhere on the continent, such as in central or southern Africa where substantial tourism industries have recently developed. Yet no other place enjoyed the same confluence of advantages. East Africa's abundance of fascinating species was enhanced by the ease with which they could be observed. East Africa consists predominantly of open savannah and undulating highland plains. Animals and birds can be observed easily from distances that leave fauna undisturbed. The open nature of the country also eased the burdens of travel and made it easier to construct navigable roads, both for traditional and motorized transport, allowing hunters and tourists to cover greater distances in a shorter space of time. By contrast, many of the world's rival wildlife attractions are found only deep in forests or jungles, in the midst of unhealthy regions ridden with malaria and the tsetse fly, or in locations that are largely inaccessible and unsuitable for tourist excursions.

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[135] G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 145.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, when East Africa began a half-century of unrivaled dominance of the safari trade, another factor loomed larger than any other. The game lands of Southern Africa, where most of the nineteenth century nimrods had hunted, were regarded as "shot out." Sport hunters were not the only party to blame. In addition to extensive mining activity, Southern Africa possessed a large European population of British and Boer descent that had densely covered the best lands with small farms and settlements. These frontier settlers carved out a harsh existence, plowing the best lands, grazing the rest with sheep and cattle, and shooting wild game in great quantities for sport and food as well as for commercial profit. What big-game animals still existed by 1900 to attract sportsmen and tourists had been pushed to remote and largely inaccessible regions too far inland to be practicable for the tourist. When Abel Chapman, a prominent sportsman and writer, landed in South Africa in 1899, he found the lands "no longer purely pristine. They had lost that ineffable charm of which I had read… South Africa as a virgin hunting field exists no longer," he proclaimed.[136]

It became clear to Chapman no less than to other commentators that "the centre of attraction has shifted northwards… to the British territories that lie around the equator," mainly the colony that became Kenya. Moreover, he wrote, "these new regions are accessible as South Africa never was at its zenith; for these new hunting-grounds are reached by steam all the way, on land and sea — a simple three weeks' journey by ocean liner and corridor train."[137] Sentiments like these were repeated by virtually every sportsman and tourist visiting Africa, forming a consensus about the numerous advantages of British East Africa. Stewart Edward White summed up the prevailing opinion of African hunters when he wrote in 1915:

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[136] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), pp. 2-3.
[137] Ibid, p. 3.

> [As a hunting field,] South Africa is finished… Nyasaland offers good sport but is unhealthy, and the species… are limited in number… Small open areas in the Congo, Uganda, and the Sudan offer miscellaneous shooting, but are isolated and remote… Rhodesia and British East Africa are the great game countries par excellence… The accessibility as well as the abundance of British East African game is what has made that country so famous and so frequented.[138]

Within East Africa, the territory that became Kenya (then called the British East Africa Protectorate) reigned supreme as a tourist destination and was not rivaled by its neighboring territories until after the Second World War. For reasons we shall see momentarily, the three territories were by no means equal in their endowments, nor in their importance as destinations for safari tourists. Kenya was the principal attraction of the safari industry and Nairobi its hub and leading entrepôt, particularly in the early years of the industry. Even in the 1920s and 1930s, J.A. Hunter, a famous professional guide who had hunted all over Africa and was familiar with regions far beyond Kenya, had no doubt that "Nairobi was the heart of the big-game country and nearly every sportsman who came to Africa to shoot big game outfitted in Nairobi."[139]

Of the three territories, Uganda was the poor relation where it concerned the development of a safari tourism industry. Although Uganda possessed a rich and varied fauna, and was famed as one of the finest elephant hunting grounds in the world, it suffered from other disadvantages that made it an impractical destination for all but experienced hunters. Visitors found the climate hot and humid to the point of being inhospitable. It rained frequently, making travel almost impossible across terrain that was difficult even in good conditions. Disease occasionally became a serious problem, too, particularly along the banks of Lake Victoria and in the thick jungles through which most visitors had to travel. The country also suffered from poor accessibility, being located far inland. Visitors could ride the Uganda Railway all the way across British East Africa, of course, but they could only reach Uganda

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[138] Stewart Edward White, *The Rediscovered Country* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1915), pp. 6, 14.
[139] J.A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 111.

after leaving the railway and riding a steamer across Lake Victoria, an added inconvenience that yielded little advantage to the sportsman and tourist in terms of what awaited in this remote country. As one colonial administrator explained in 1909, Uganda had "little or nothing to do with the East Africa Protectorate."[140] Lake Victoria effectively divided the two countries, despite a contiguous border. It took five days to get from Nairobi to Entebbe, as the steamers from Entebbe had to call at different ports in Uganda in order to secure cargo for the railway. No reply by post could be sent between the two cities in less than a fortnight.

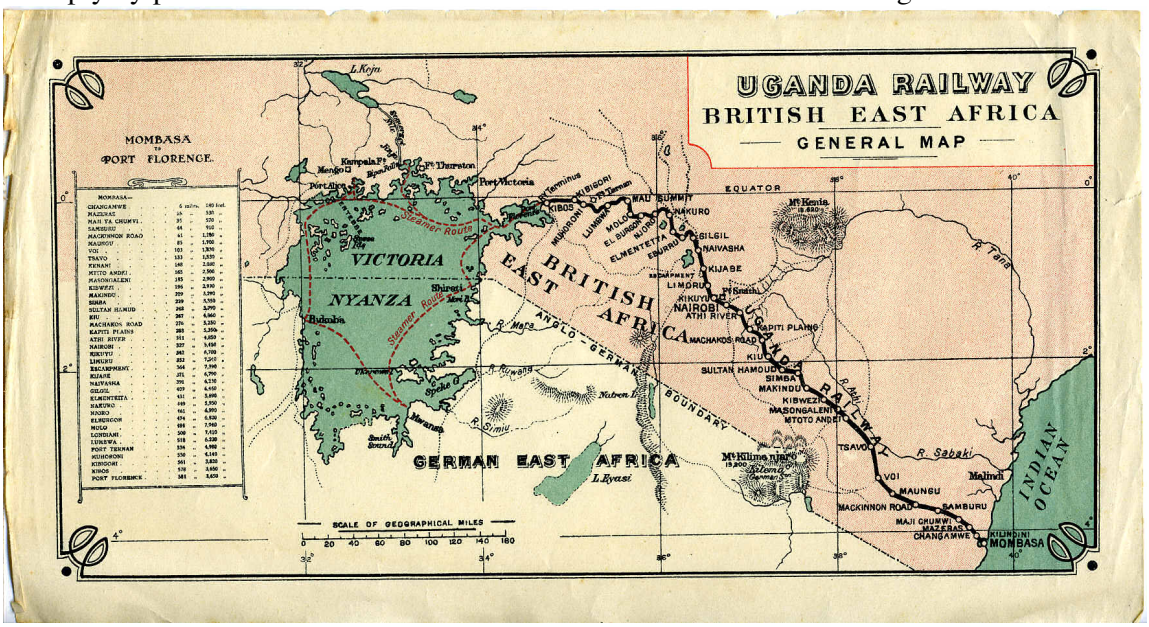

Figure 2: General map of the Uganda Railway, circa 1910.[141]

[140] Unsigned, "Memorandum containing rough notes for a despatch to the Secretary of State upon the question of Amalgamation between the Uganda Protectorate and the East African Protectorate [1909]," CO 533/63, UK National Archives.

[141] The Uganda Railway traversed Kenya but required visitors to ride a steamer to the cities of Uganda, making it difficult for tourists to reach. Kampala, the capitol city of Uganda, is located toward the northwest side of the lake, while Entebbe, the chief port, lies on the shore of the lake about twenty-six miles south. Source: Stuart Pryor/Alfred Benitz, "Safari in British East Africa (Kenya) plus Travels in Europe & the U.S.: June, 1910 – May 1911," *The Benitz Bull*, < http://www.benitz.com/BzAlfred1859_Diaries/BzAA1859_Safari1910c.html>.

"Many travelers, distinguished and otherwise," this administrator explained, "have remarked that upon crossing the Lake they appear to have come to an entirely different country."[142] Except for a few areas, Uganda consists of thick forest or densely cultivated agricultural land, lacking the large expanses of open plains that were most conductive to travel, hunting, and game viewing. Uganda's day as a tourist destination would, as it turns out, come later in the century, centered mainly on scenic attractions of its lakes and mountains, but as a destination for safaris and hunting expeditions the territory could never overcome its geographical remoteness or the limitations of its climate and topography. Few tourists proved willing to bypass the excellent hunting and tourism in Kenya, coupled with the convenience of Nairobi's safari industry, only to travel much farther inland for inferior opportunities in Uganda.

Tanganyika, then called German East Africa, suffered from disadvantages of a different order. On the face of it, the country enjoys favorable geography and an abundance of wildlife comparable to Kenya's. Many years later, one respected hunting guidebook to East Africa claimed, with justification, that "Tanganyika is quite the equal of its sister colony, Kenya, as a hunter's golden world," and "a more prolific, lush, and entirely satisfactory gaming ground can scarcely be imagined" than what is found in the Serengeti.[143] Yet Tanganyika as a tourist destination was slow to develop. The slow development of the country's safari trade owed partly to politics, partly to geography, and partly to patterns of environmental change. The territory was under effective German rule from 1885 to 1919 and known as German East Africa. Although a few safari parties visited during this time, German customs authorities were strict and the territory was not generally open to tourists or visiting hunting parties, particularly if they held British identities or were otherwise members of the English-speaking world. Even

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[142] Ibid.

[143] Colonel Charles Askins, *The African Hunt* (Harrisburg, PN: Stackpole Company, 1958), pp. 31, 33.

Stewart Edward White, an American travel writer with broad experience traveling the world, claimed that it took a year prior to his visit to secure permission to enter the German territory and, when he arrived, there was no custom house to handle visitors.[144]

German East Africa was so little travelled when White visited the Serengeti on safari in 1910-11 that he titled his book *The Rediscovered Country*.[145] "No Englishman or American had been there," he wrote, "and as far as we could find out, only the German reconnaissance of many years previous possessed even the slightest knowledge of what the country might be like." He considered it the "very last virgin game field — of any great size — remaining to be discovered and opened up to the sportsman."[146] "The Englishman," White concluded on the basis of his experience in the region before 1914, "is not at home in German territory, and, as long as he can get sport elsewhere…he is not inclined to enter it."[147] White may have written these words with a degree of hyperbole to elevate his claim to be a pioneer hunter of the country, but his impressions that German East Africa was little traveled by casual hunters appears to be true. Indeed, he was one of the only sportsmen to visit during the country's years as a German colony. Other sportsmen had a similar experience. G.H. Anderson, who hunted nearly a dozen different countries in this part of Africa, and who knew the safari hunting fraternity well, wrote that German East Africa was "practically unknown to Britishers before the war of 1914-18."[148] Although a few experienced hunters visited the territory in the early years of the century, Anderson argued that the country was not effectively opened up to *visiting* hunters until an American named Leslie Simpson took a widely publicized motorized safari there after the First World War and raised interest in the region for casual tourist safaris.

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144 Stewart Edward White, *The Rediscovered Country* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1915), p. 8.
145 Ibid.
146 Ibid, p. 4.
147 Ibid, p. 5.
148 G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), pp. 145-46.

What exceptions exist largely prove the rule. Perhaps the most famous individual known to hunt German East Africa before the First World War was Jim Sutherland, who pursued elephants there between 1902 and 1912 on a special license from the governor.[149] At that time, Sutherland was a commercial hunter in the fullest sense of the term, made possible by special permission from the German colonial government. His ivory hunting career spanned three decades from 1899 to 1932 and reputedly resulted in the deaths of over 1,000 elephants, most of them bulls carrying heavy ivory.[150] "At the peak of his hunting days," G.H. Anderson wrote, "Jim was sending out of the country [German East Africa] £2,000 or more each year: all made with his rifle out of ivory, and after paying the overhead costs of his safaris, always a very heavy item…"[151] The fact that old-style commercial hunters like Sutherland enjoyed virtually a free run of German East Africa until 1912, destroying its best trophies and pushing wildlife populations to remote areas, undoubtedly worked against the development of a safari trade there and ensured that visiting hunters would stick to British East Africa where big-game was relatively less molested.

German East Africa also suffered from a quirk of geography. The territory's best hunting grounds encompass the Serengeti and lie near the border of Kenya. These lands could be reached more quickly and conveniently from Nairobi than from cities in German East Africa. Even today, using modern roads and granting Tanzania's vast improvements in infrastructure and tourist accommodations that have occurred in recent years, the distance from Arusha, the capital city, to the entrance of the Serengeti National Park is 146 miles (235 km). The corresponding distance from Nairobi to the border of Tanganyika where the Serengeti National Park begins is only 158 miles (255 km). The distance from Dar es Salaam,

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[149] See especially James Sutherland's memoir, *The Adventures of an Elephant Hunter* (1912).
[150] G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), pp. 31-32.
[151] Ibid, p. 42.

Tanganyika's leading coastal city, to the Serengeti is 546 miles, while the corresponding distance from Mombasa, Kenya's main coastal city, is only 384 miles. During the colonial age, the advantage was magnified in favor of Kenya by the comparatively superior modes of transport (particularly the Uganda Railway), by the larger number of hotels in Nairobi catering to the tourist, and by the advantages to be gained by hiring a safari firm based in Nairobi. German East Africa's railway construction, by contrast, only began in earnest after 1906. The lines to the Kilimanjaro area and elsewhere in the good hunting grounds were not opened to traffic until 1912.[152] Owing to the difficulties of Tanganyika's geography and the superior options for safari outfitting in Nairobi, the conventional practice until after 1945 (even beyond) was to travel first to Mombasa, ride the Uganda railway to Nairobi where the safari was outfitted, and then hunt there before making the swing into Tanganyika as an adjunct to the main trip. Stewart Edward White recommended this approach when he published his book in 1915 and, in fact, had followed it himself, outfitting a safari in Nairobi with Newland and Tarlton that was guided by R.J. Cunninghame.[153]

Tanganyika's best hunting grounds were also surrounded by natural barriers that were difficult to cross before the advent of the motorcar. Many hunters considered the country's hunting grounds too far from the German side and too inaccessible from the British side. Tanganyika lacked a railway through its central game lands and possessed only rudimentary roads to aid the travels of the sportsman and visitor. Finally, there was the issue of climate. Most parts of Tanganyika are considerably warmer and more arid than the highlands of Kenya owing to the lower elevations in the country, and suffered worse from the tsetse fly. The

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[152] W.O. Henderson, "German East Africa, 1884-1918," *History of East Africa,* Vol 2, Vincent Harlow, E.M. Chilver, and Alison Smith, editors (Oxford, 1965), p. 154.

[153] He recommended other travelers to take a steamer to Mombasa, outfit the safari and acquire porters in Nairobi, ride the train from there to Kisumu on Victoria Nyanza, then to either Musoma or Mwanza, and finally to march inland by one of several routes. Stewart Edward White, *The Rediscovered Country* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1915), pp. 314-315.

capital, Dar es Salaam, the only place in the country where suitable hotels could be expected, was located on the coast, well outside the best hunting grounds, and held little interest for the visiting sportsman. The road system around the country was very poor and, even as late as 1958, "there [was] no all-season highway from Lake Tanganyika to the coast."[154]

Finally, the Serengeti region suffered from several environmental shifts over the twentieth century that delayed its apogee as a wonderland for the tourist. In September 1890, the rinderpest livestock disease arrived on the Serengeti plains, killing over 90 percent of local cattle. This disease also afflicted wildlife, including wildebeest and buffalo, which normally inhabit the Serengeti in large numbers and account for the massive migrations for which the Serengeti is now famous. One estimate claims that the mortality rate of certain vulnerable species of wild animals reached as much as 90 percent, the same figure as domestic cattle.[155] In the immediate term, the epidemic meant that fewer of these herd-forming plains game were available to hunt, and consequently that predator populations declined in proportion to that of their prey. Simultaneously, the combined effects of rinderpest, drought, and famine pushed the human population to desperation. Local peoples, on the brink of starvation and no longer able to subsist on their cattle, began hunting with much greater intensity. Hunting efforts were aided by the movement of elephants from wooded areas onto the newly opened plains, making them easier targets for local hunters who sought to profit from the lucrative ivory trade. The Dorobo called themselves "the elephant people" and accounted for much of the slaughter of elephants. Even the Maasai, traditionally cattle herders, took up hunting "as a means of staying alive," according to one German official.

> In a few cases [he continued], men stated to me that they received thirty cattle for a tusk six to seven feet long, and nine cattle for a tusk two to four feet long. The

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[154] Colonel Charles Askins, *The African Hunt* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Company, 1958), p. 32.
[155] Holly T. Dublin, "Dynamics of the Serengeti-Mara Woodlands: An Historical Perspective," *Forest and Conservation History,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (October 1991), p. 172.

> accuracy of these figures is questionable. What is important is that for the first time many Maasai who had never been involved in the international ivory trade were now forced to do so by their sheer destitution.[156]

This increased hunting pressure, the consequence of rinderpest and drought, caused a precipitous decline in elephant populations in the Serengeti area of Tanganyika. The region became known as the "area without elephants." "Ten years ago," one travel account claimed in 1900, "elephant swarmed in places like [central Africa], where now you will not find one."[157] Frank Melland went further and claimed in 1938, on the assumption that this had always been the case, that "So far as I know, the Serengeti does not and has never numbered elephants among its inhabitants."[158]

Another long-term trend was afoot for the land itself. At the turn of the century, most of the Serengeti consisted of open grasslands and lightly wooded savannah, much as it does today. Observers described "undulating grasslands… stretching on and on," and a "broad plain of park-like country, fine grazing land, studded with the occasional yellow-barked acacia trees."[159] Stewart Edward White described "a high grass plateau with a few scattered thorn trees" and "an open, grassy rolling country."[160] By the 1930s, however, the reduced populations of cattle, humans, and wildlife allowed the open grasslands to be replaced by hilltop *croton* thickets consisting of acacia and other species of trees.[161] The resulting wooded thickets became the ideal habitat for the tsetse fly, the vector of *trypanosomiasis* (in cattle) and sleeping sickness (in humans), whose painful bite and threat of deadly disease deterred many

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156 O. Baumann, *Durch Masailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, Germany: Dietrich Reimer, 1894), p. 323. Translated and quoted in Holly T. Dublin, "Dynamics of the Serengeti-Mara Woodlands: An Historical Perspective," *Forest and Conservation History,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (October 1991), p. 172.
157 Ewart S. Grogan and Arthur H. Sharp, *From the Cape to Cairo: The First Traverse of Africa from South to North* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1902), p. 215.
158 Frank H. Melland, *Elephants in Africa* (London: Country Life, 1938), p. 176.
159 Mary A.B. Buxton, *Kenya Days* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927), p. 67; and R.B. Woosnam, "Report on a Search for *Glossina on the Amala* (Engabei) River, Southern Masai Reserve, East Africa Protectorate," *Bulletin of Entomological Research,* Vol. 4 (1913), p. 275.
160 Stewart Edward White, *The Rediscovered Country* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1915), pp. 158, 162.
161 James C. McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999), p. 72.

potential tourists and hunters, who preferred the similar but disease-free zones in Kenya. These woodlands and thickets became so prevalent in the area that colonial authorities regarded them as the "pristine" condition of the region, and declared in the 1946 report of the Royal National Parks that "the tsetse fly stands guard over this area, and even today it is virtually a glimpse into Africa as it was before the white man ever crossed its shores."[162] It was not until the late 1950s and 1960s that the Serengeti assumed its current, familiar form as an undulating grassland studded with the occasional acacia tree.[163] A series of fires in the 1950s and 1960s destroyed much of the wooded growth, while the elephant population that grew within the protected boundaries of the park tended to uproot and browse trees and thereby contribute to the spread of savannah where trees had formerly stood.

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The East Africa Protectorate's advantages as a tourist resort were enhanced by a confluence of human factors that created a situation unusually favorable to the creation of a wildlife tourism industry. Any discussion of the origins of the safari tourism industry in East Africa must acknowledge the crucial role played by the establishment of the British colonial state, and the profound changes that it brought to the social, political, and economic conditions of the country. The extension of British control in the 1890s increased steamship service to East Africa, brought roads and railways to carry tourists inland, ensured a certain level of security demanded by European travelers, and accelerated the growth of Nairobi and the "white highlands" as a staging post for an industry that provided an array of tourism services, including hotels, restaurants, clubs, consignment services, outfitters, guides, and safari organizers. The establishment of the colonial state also brought the first comprehensive game laws in 1900 and

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[162] *Annual Report, 1946,* Royal National Parks of Kenya (Nairobi, Kenya, 1946), p. 55.
[163] Holly T. Dublin, "Dynamics of the Serengeti-Mara Woodlands: An Historical Perspective," *Forest and Conservation History,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (October 1991), pp. 169-178.

provided the means to enforce them through the then-novel institution of the colonial Game Department, whose effect on the tourism industry was to preserve wild animals as an economic resource for the future enjoyment of visiting hunters and tourists.

This is not to grant undue credit to the role of empire in developing allegedly "backwards" parts of the globe, nor is it to suggest that the tourism industry developed without the knowledge, labor, and expertise of indigenous Africans, who played vital roles in the industry. Yet the safari tourism industry that emerged around 1900 was then, and remained for many years, an institution that catered overwhelmingly to the upper classes of Europe and North America. The industry was accordingly predicated on certain attitudes and assumptions about the world, including the racial prejudices characteristic of the age, the desire among wealthy visitors that a modicum of "civilization" should exist in the lands through which they traveled, and the expectation of safety and security that remains still a hallmark of tourist travel. The establishment of British rule not only created the necessary conditions for a safari tourism industry, but also accelerated its development, influenced the form it took, and helped to advertise its existence to the potential market of tourists in Europe and North America who followed with interest the extension of European empire in Africa.

The advent of British rule in East Africa had an almost immediate effect on the familiar question of security among those contemplating a safari. Today this question is addressed by travel warnings and foreign risk assessments delivered by a combination of government agencies (like the U.S. State Department), non-governmental organizations, private companies, and the press. The dissemination of information about travel risks in the early twentieth century was less formal and more *ad hoc,* but tourists drew considerable comfort from the knowledge that East Africa fell under British administration and had been made "safe" for European travelers by the establishment of imperial security, a perceived (and increasingly real) *Pax Britannica*. This is not to suggest that tourist travel in Africa was unsafe in the absence of

imperial rule, but merely that, in the minds of contemporaries, the British presence provided assurance of personal safety to a class of travelers whose beliefs and prejudices predisposed them to distrust the conditions of what they considered to be "primitive" Africa in the absence of imperial security.

Effective British control of East Africa was less than two decades old when Newland and Tarlton entered the safari business in 1905. The British presence in the region traced to an agreement reached in 1886 that delineated British and German spheres of influence along a line stretching from the coast of East Africa to the shores of Lake Victoria, roughly coterminous with the present-day border of Kenya and Tanzania. The German sphere extended south of the line to Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). The British sphere extended north to the unmapped border of Ethiopia. Thereafter British influence was augmented by a series of measures leading to gradually increased control. In 1887, the Sultan of Zanzibar granted a concession that included present-day Kenya and Uganda to a commercial venture known as the British East Africa Association in return for a portion of the customs dues the company was allowed to collect under the agreement. The concession conferred to the Company full judicial and political authority from the Umba River in the south to the Kipini in the north. The following year the Association received a charter from the British government and changed its name to the better-known British East Africa Company, which claimed sovereignty over 200 miles inland from the coast, excluding a strip along the coast that was kept by the Sultan. The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 added Uganda to the British sphere of influence.[164]

The British government's interest in granting a charter to the British East Africa Company derived from its desire to find an inexpensive means of establishing a presence in the region leading to and surrounding the headwaters of the Nile, which British ministers saw

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[164] For overviews of the political history of East Africa, see especially Kenneth Ingham, *A History of East Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962).

as critical to the maintenance of Britain's strategic position in Egypt and thus, by extension, to control of the Indian subcontinent, Britain's most prized imperial possession.[165] Supporting this were a variety of other motives embraced by both British political parties, including the desire to end the slave trade on the East Africa coast, to prevent another civil war in Uganda, to forestall the encroachments of the French and Belgians from the west and the Germans from the south, and to support, directly and indirectly, the missionary effort that was already well established in the region.[166] Proponents also expected to capture the natural agricultural and mineral wealth of the region and thereby to enhance the commercial viability of Britain's tropical empire.

The East Africa Company proved unable to make a profit, however, and it was largely ineffective at administration, law enforcement, and revenue collection. Commercial profits likewise proved unexpectedly difficult to extract, and many local traders and caravans were hostile to the foreign intruders. Ultimately the Company collapsed after several years. The Foreign Office assumed its burdens temporarily before establishing the Uganda Protectorate in 1894 and the East Africa Protectorate in 1895.[167] In 1902 the Uganda Protectorate's Eastern Province was transferred to the East Africa Protectorate, bringing the entire area through which the railway passed under one administration, which approximates modern Kenya. The Foreign Office transferred administration of the East Africa Protectorate to the Colonial Office in 1905.

By the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century, the British had established the main pillars of the permanent administration in British East Africa. The East Africa Order in Council was drawn up in 1902, which established the Protectorate's basic law and provided

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165 The strategic case for securing the flow of the Nile into Egypt and safeguarding the route to India is made, in particular, by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1961), Chapter 11.

166 Margery Perham, "Introduction," *History of East Africa,* Volume II, Vincent Harlow, E.M. Chilver, Alison Smith, editors. (Oxford, 1965), p. xxii.

167 Hardinge to Salisbury, 2 July 1895. F.O. 403/210, UK National Archives.

the basis for future legal and administrative enactments. By 1903, the bureaucracy was well established, consisting of fifteen distinct government departments. A hut tax was imposed on the indigenous population, and arrangements were made for a larger military force, which reached as many as fourteen companies of the King's African Rifles to ensure security and assist with the extension of British control.[168]

Annexation and the struggle to establish British administration over the newly acquired territories caused a series of revolts by local tribes that stretched from the 1890s to the outbreak of the First World War. The immediate causes of each conflict varied according to local conditions and affected some regions more than others, but they generally involved succession disputes between tribes, usually related to the upheaval caused by the British arrival, or to struggles against the policies of the new British administration.[169] These revolts, in turn, resulted in a series of British "pacification" campaigns and punitive expeditions that bore all the hallmarks of imperial conquest. British punitive expeditions sought to end tribal raiding, to compel agreements and collaboration between local tribes and the British rulers, and to create a truce, wherever possible, that would allow the British to shore up their uncertain footholds in the interior. The British mounted several minor expeditions against the Kikuyu in the late 1890s and several more against the Kikuyu in 1901 and 1902 between Fort Hall and Nyeri (around 50 to 100 miles north of Nairobi by road). The Nandi, a tribe that inhabited the Mau plateau in the central part of modern-day Kenya, were the target of punitive campaigns for raiding caravans in 1895, 1897, 1899, 1900, 1902, and 1903. Nandi raids continued thereafter and were not curtailed until a final, decisive campaign was carried out in 1905, after which most of the Nandi were removed. Campaigns continued, even increased, this intensity

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[168] D.A. Low, "British East Africa: The Establishment of British Rule, 1895-1912," *History of East Africa,* Volume II, Vincent Harlow, E.M. Chilver, and Alison Smith, editors (Oxford, 1965), p. 23.
[169] Ibid, pp. 1-56.

until at least 1908 as the British sough to bring under control not only the Nandi but also the Embu and Tharaka (northern neighbors of the Kikuyu), and the Gusii (in the southwest corner of the Protectorate).[170]

The British often used force to achieve imperial ends; when that failed, the threat of force stood in its place; and when neither force nor the threat of force could subdue resistance, the British adopted the age old tactic of playing one small section off against another. As one historian writes of the numerous punitive expeditions in East Africa:

> [There was a] firm belief that as servants of the British empire it was their mission to bring peace and order to lawless regions… [and] a strong tendency in the E.A.P.… to resort to arms without considering possible alternatives; to inflict 'punishment' on a scale out of all proportion to any 'offense' which had been committed, and to treat as rebellion actions by Africans which, in truth, were only the expression of a natural instinct to preserve their own freedom and be rid of obstinate and unwelcome intruders.[171]

In the long term, the British tendency to undertake punitive expeditions probably increased indigenous hostility to their presence and raised the likelihood of future uprisings. But, in the short term, punitive raids kept a lid on local resistance and, more importantly, gave the impression to contemporary tourists that British policy and the use of military force had eliminated the dangers of travel. To tourists in the early twentieth century, imbued with the conceits of the age and confident in the progress of "civilization," it appeared that British military prowess had effected a profound and far-reaching revolution that crushed raiding parties in remote districts, made the roads safe for travel, and ensured that tourists could visit remote areas without encountering the kind of local hostility that had beset European explorers in the years before British rule.

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[170] See M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 21-23.
[171] Ibid, p. 32.

These improvements in basic security, a key transformation in the creation of a tourist resort in East Africa, are surpassed in importance only by the colonial state's establishment of comprehensive hunting regulations in 1900. These regulations aimed to abolish commercial hunting — the export of hides, horns, ivory, and other animal commodities — and in general to prevent the indiscriminate slaughter of big-game animals in British East Africa. The passage of these game regulations at this early stage, before the economic and agricultural development of the territory came into conflict with wildlife conservation, had two principal effects on the fortunes of the nascent safari industry. First, by banning commercial hunting and reducing the number of animals allowed to each hunter, they helped to ensure that plenty of sport remained to attract visiting sportsmen. Secondly, the terms of the game regulations, which had been advocated and passed into law by upper-class conservationists and the British ruling classes, privileged elite sportsmen and visiting hunters in particular, on the assumption that such classes of hunters would best observe the aristocratic traditions of sportsmanship prized in Britain while also bringing revenue to the country and promoting its attractions to the right class of settler. Thirdly, the game laws provided for the creation of a game department in British East Africa to enforce the regulations and prevent poaching. The lasting effect of these laws, as far as the dynamics of the safari tourism industry are concerned, was to safeguard East Africa's wildlife at a vulnerable time in its history, when Europeans were first arriving with modern firearms, and thereby to enhance the advantages the region already enjoyed as a destination for the safari tourist.

Game laws were originally introduced in East Africa by the administration of the British East Africa Company in the 1890s, but they were not well enforced, nor were they comprehensive, and their provisions, which sought mainly to control the ivory trade, were

deemed inadequate for a colony that was touted as a possible avenue of British settlement.[172] The comprehensive game regulations eventually passed in 1900 emerged out of a correspondence in the 1890s between ministers in London and the administrators of the British territories in Africa.[173] Less than a year after the British East Africa Protectorate came into effect in July of 1895, Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary,[174] issued a circular regarding the preservation of wild animals in Africa. "My attention has recently been called," he wrote, "to the excessive destruction, by travelers and others in East Africa, of the larger wild animals generally known as 'big game.' There is reason to fear that unless some check is imposed upon the indiscriminate slaughter of these animals, they will, in the course of a few years, disappear from the British Protectorate."[175] Salisbury thought it was "eminently desirable" that some steps should be taken to protect wild animals, beginning with an enquiry into game preservation directed toward the newly appointed commissioners of East Africa and Uganda, Arthur Hardinge and Ernest J.L. Berkeley, respectively.

The Foreign Office's discussions on wildlife conservation, which began in earnest in early 1896, drew upon several main impulses prevalent in the British official mind. First, many

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[172] The first game regulations were passed in 1891. See Imperial British East Africa Company to the Foreign Office, 19 June 1891, FO 403/158, The National Archives. Revised regulations were passed in 1894 but remained largely unenforced. See I.B.E.A. Company to the Foreign Office, 8 June 1894, FO 403/194, The National Archives. The terms of the regulations required all sportsmen entering the country to purchase a license for £25, which allowed elephant, rhinoceros, and larger antelopes; the registration of firearms; a duty on ivory and other animal commodities; a deposit of £100 as a surety of good behavior; and fines not less than £50 for taking game without a license.

[173] The correspondence referred to here was collected together, bound for publication, and presented to both Houses of Parliament under the title, *Correspondence* [and *Further Correspondence*] *Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906-1913). The records come in five parts and are listed as Command Papers under the following numbers: Cd. 3189 (c. 1896-1906), Cd. 4472 (c. 1906-1908), Cd. 5136 (c. 1908-1910), Cd. 5775 (c. 1910-1911), and Cd. 6671 (c. 1911-1913).

[174] Salisbury was also prime minister after August 1895. Instead of holding the post of First Lord of the Treasury, as was customary for prime ministers, he chose also to serve as Foreign Secretary, where he could make better use of his expertise in foreign affairs.

[175] Salisbury to Mr. A. Hardinge and Mr. Berkeley, 27 May 1896, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

famous explorers, travelers, hunters, and administrators in Africa had made expressions of concern over the future of East Africa's wildlife, particularly the elephant, which influenced official as well as public sentiment. Indeed, it is difficult to find a hunting book from this period that did not make fervent pleas to save the game before it was too late. Sportsmen wanted to protect and manage game populations to guarantee future sport. The examples of southern Africa and the Great Plains of North America figured prominently in this strand of thought. Owing to the destructive capacities of the modern rifle in the hands of both European and indigenous hunters, huge swathes of territory around the world had been virtually emptied of big game animals. The quagga and blue buck had been pushed to total extinction in southern Africa owing to the value of their hides. Bison populations in North America had been reduced from millions to less than one thousand by the 1880s.[176] The rinderpest epidemic that swept Africa after 1890 left wild animal populations yet more vulnerable to hunters, killing as much as 90 percent of some valued species. David Livingstone, the celebrated missionary whose authority on matters concerning Africa was virtually unmatched at this time, was certainly the most famous but hardly the only individual to raise the specter that "all these fine animals [could, as in southern Africa,] melt away like snow in the spring" if measures were not quickly adopted to ensure their future survival.[177]

The second impulse behind the new game regulations was that the ruling classes of Britain were deeply influenced by the traditions of royal and aristocratic game preservation, whereby wild animals were reserved on British estates as the private property of the upper

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[176] A detailed report by the British Plenipotentiaries made explicit reference to the example of bison, quagga, and other animals known to have gone extinct by 1900. See Enclosure 10, The British Plenipotentiaries of the Game Conference to Salisbury, 21 May 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).
[177] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researchers in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857), p. 152.

classes, saved for elite sport but protected from the lower orders.[178] Yet East Africa, like most colonial lands, developed a variation of this idea, wherein wildlife was not privately owned but rather part of a *public commons*, technically the property of the crown lands but theoretically accessible to all. The idea found certain commonalities with the concurrent conservation programs being advanced in the United States, including the establishment of national parks, the creation of game departments, and the delineation of state and national forests as protected areas on public land where hunting became highly regulated. Many British ministers combined traditional and modern notions of wildlife preservation, emphasizing the importance of saving wildlife for the benefit of posterity through laws that upheld many traditional, aristocratic conceptions about acceptable sporting practice, but which also acknowledged the legal principles of wider public access. Theodore Roosevelt, a major proponent of conservation in the United States, wrote admiringly of East Africa's accomplishments in the realm of wildlife conservation in 1909:

> The protection given these wild creatures is genuine, not nominal; they are preserved, not for the pleasure of the few, but for the good of all who choose to see this strange and attractive spectacle; and from this nursery and breeding-ground the overflow keeps up the stock of game in the adjacent land, to the benefit of the settler to whom the game gives fresh meat, and to the benefit of the whole country because of the attraction it furnishes to all who desire to visit a veritable happy hunting ground.[179]

This preservation impulse took particular forms in East Africa. The imperial authorities disavowed commercial hunting in general and the ivory trade in particular and took vigorous measures to eliminate these remunerative kinds of hunting, despite the lucrative revenues they could bring to the cash-strapped colonial government. At the same time, the authorities sought to curb (but not eliminate) "hunting for the pot" among both Africans and

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[178] The authoritative studies remain E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975); and John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988).

[179] Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (New York, London: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1909), p. 20.

Europeans, reducing the scale of hunting among the lower orders, although concessions were made. In practice, this meant not so much that hunters could not obtain meat from their sport as that the killing of female and young animals, and the excessive harvesting of animal meat for sale in commercial markets, was "unsportsmanlike" and destructive and therefore prohibited. Game policy in British East Africa, in other words, was usually framed explicitly in the interests of aristocrats and visiting hunters, and this compounded the advantages the territory already enjoyed as a tourist destination typically patronized by wealthy elites.

The Foreign Office put amended game regulations into force in 1897 and again in 1899, striving in the meantime to collect as many expert opinions as possible and to reach agreements with the adjacent European colonies, particularly German East Africa.[180] By 1897 the Colonial Office had accepted the Foreign Office's notion of an international agreement, a crucial achievement for the future maintenance of any policy.[181] Two main arguments helped to make the discussion international. The first was that many East African animals migrated over long distances and passed through multiple countries in the course of a single year. Cross-border animal migrations were especially frequent across the border shared by German and British East Africa, but also affected borders with Uganda and Somalia, and indeed practically everywhere a European cartographer had drawn an arbitrary line on a map. Passing regulations to prevent wildlife destruction in one territory would be meaningless if animals crossed into a neighboring territory and were slaughtered in the absence of proper protections.[182] The second argument for making the discussions international concerned not hunting itself, but the trade

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[180] Article 45 of the "East Africa Order in Council, 1897" on the Preservation of Game, enclosed in Foreign Office to Craudford (East Africa Protectorate), 11 August 1899. For the "Game Regulations, 1899," see Memorandum by Clifford H. Crauford, 8 December 1899. Both in [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

[181] Colonial Office to Foreign Office, 11 January 1897, F.O. 403/302/15.

[182] This point was made with particular force by S.L. Hinde, Memorandum, April 1900, Enclosure 9 in The British Plenipotentiaries of the Game Conference to Salisbury, 21 May 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

of skin, horns, meat, and ivory. It would be useless to impose restrictions on the export of ivory, or to set minimum weights for tusks that could be harvested, or to forbid the sale of meat and skins, if those illegal animal commodities could be trucked over the border to an Italian or Portuguese colony and sent forthwith to the ready markets of the world.[183]

For these reasons, and owing to a good measure of pressure on the part of the German and British representatives, the idea of an international game conference was favorably received by most of the European colonial powers.[184] The effort culminated in May of 1900 in the first International Conference for the Preservation of the Wild Animals, Birds, and Fishes of the African Continent, held in London and attended by most of the colonial powers. The initiative behind the conference came nominally from Hermann von Wissmann, the Governor of German East Africa from 1895 to 1896, but the subsequent campaign was effectively led by the British Foreign Office, where discussions on game preservation were already well advanced. It was hoped that an international conference would achieve a unity of wildlife policy in Africa among all the European colonial powers. Salisbury and the Germans extended invitations to the representatives of France, Italy, the Ottomans, Egypt, Portugal, Spain, and the Congo Free State.

The Convention on game preservation signed on May 19, 1900 was symbolically significant, but it masked serious differences of policy as well as of sincerity between the

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[183] Alfred Sharpe, for example, feared that ivory would be smuggled to the Portuguese territories to the south, and Arthur Hardinge complained that ivory killed in East Africa and Uganda could be sent to Italian or German territory where similar regulations were unenforced. Hardinge to Salisbury, 29 September 1898, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

[184] For Salisbury's circular inviting the powers to the conference, see Salisbury to Her Majesty's Representatives at Paris, Rome, Constantinople, Cairo, Lisbon, Madrid, and Brussels (for Congo Free State), 11 November 1899, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

signatory powers.[185] In general, it can be said that British and German authorities were serious about the regulations in thought as well as practice and largely upheld the agreement. The French accepted the terms of the conference reluctantly and, in the end, refused to end commodity exports from their colonies.[186] The Congo Free State, citing previous agreements, accepted the principles of the Convention but veiled a desire to maintain its lucrative ivory trade.[187] Rhodesia refused to be bound by the terms but accepted them in principle.[188] The Cape Colony and Natal accepted the regulations in principle, but argued that "the conditions of a settled Colony are very different from those of newly-acquired territories" and that many of the proposed measures were "uncalled for."[189] The Italians failed to ratify the convention but assured the British that game would be protected in their territories.[190] The Portuguese responded haughtily that "long before the Conference held in London" they already had regulations protecting all the important varieties of game — though in fact they went largely unenforced.[191] In the end it would prove difficult to get the agreement ratified by all the powers, but several important principles were established that would guide much wildlife conservation policy in the future. The Convention emphasized that hunters should be licensed and bag limits

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185 "The Convention Signed at London, May 19, 1900," Foreign Office to Sharpe, 6 April 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

186 Sir E. Monson (Paris) to Salisbury, 25 August 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

187 F. Plunkett (Brussels) to Salisbury, 7 December 1899, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

188 High Commissioner Milner (Cape Town) to Chamberlain, 29 August 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

189 Report by Mr. Currey, 15 April 1898, Enclosed in Milner (Cape Town) to Chamberlain, 7 May 1898. [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

190 Pro-Memoria Communicated by Italian Embassy, London, 2 January 1901, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

191 Senhor Arroyo to Thornton, 10 August 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

imposed, that methods should be regulated, that hunting should not be allowed during closed seasons, and that sanctuaries and reserves should be created as areas of special protection, especially in breeding grounds and across migratory routes.

Of all the powers involved in the Convention of 1900, the East Africa Protectorate was the promptest in putting regulations into effect and the most devoted in upholding them over the decades to come. This enhanced the advantages the Protectorate already enjoyed as the favored destination for safari tourists. East Africa's game regulations of 1900 roughly followed the principles of the Convention. They expanded the definition of game to include most animals, excluding lions and leopards (classified as predator vermin, despite their value as trophies), baboons, amphibians, and reptiles. Strict limits were imposed on the number of animals that could be killed by each hunter, especially for prized animals like elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, and giraffe. Hunters were forbidden from killing most female and young animals as well as elephants with immature tusks. License fees were raised to £50 for the Sportsman's license (formerly £25 under the regulations of 1897 and 1899), and £10 for public officers and settlers (formerly £3), although settlers were allowed less game on their license than the corresponding public officers' license — a source of acrimony for settlers until the issue was rectified in the revised Game Regulations of 1909. Breaches of the regulations resulted in a penalty of 1000 rupees (£66), or, in the case of multiple breaches, of 500 rupees (£33) per animal. Two reserves were declared to provide sanctuaries for animals. The Northern Reserve extended from the border of Uganda to the southeast shores of Lake Rudolf and encompassed all the land south of the Guaso Nyiro River. The Southern Reserve extended from the Uganda Protectorate on the west to German East Africa on the south, then east to the foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro and north to the area near the railway zone.

These regulations were to be enforced by the creation of a game department. Despite the ambitious nature of the game regulations and the firm commitments of colonial authorities

to wildlife preservation, Kenya's game department maintained a skeletal existence for most of the period under review, forced to fulfill its charges with minimal staff and inadequate funding. Initially, in fact, when the department was established in 1901, it was not so much a "department" as a single ranger for whom funds had been allocated, Arthur Blayney Percival, along with whatever African assistants he could afford to help fulfill his duties. Percival began work in the Protectorate as an assistant collector in June 1900 and over the next two decades exerted a strong influence over game policy in Kenya until his retirement in 1923.[192]

Illustration 8: Arthur Blayney Percival, c. 1908, the first game ranger and later the Chief Game Warden of the British East Africa Protectorate.[193]

[192] Percival's own diaries and recollections constitute a leading source of information about the early years of the Kenya's game department. See A. Blayney Percival, *A Game Ranger's Notebook,* Edited by E.D. Cuming (New York: George H. Doran, 1924).

[193] Source: Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).

In 1907, the government established a four-man department headed by Lieutenant-Colonel John Henry Patterson, who was famous for killing the man-eaters of Tsavo. Percival was promoted to Senior Assistant Game Ranger, and two additional assistants – C.J. Ross and G.H. Goldfinch – were hired and would remain with the department until 1922.[194] Patterson left the department under a cloud in 1908 (for reasons that will be explained in Chapter 8), reducing the department to three rangers without a chief warden until 1910, when a new chief warden, R.B. Woosnam, was appointed. The department added another ranger in 1912, ceased to exist during the war, and then began to rebuild during the interwar years. Percival became chief warden in 1919 and served until 1923 with three rangers under his charge. He was succeeded by A.T.A. Ritchie. It was not until after 1925 that the number of full-time game department staff grew to five, where it remained until 1939.

During this time, the department was expected "to show champagne results on a beer budget," as Ritchie put it, a complaint shared by other wardens and rangers.[195] In 1904-05, the department spent only £115 out of a Protectorate total of £302,560. In 1907 the reorganized department received an increase of its budget to £1,800. Budgets rose above £11,000 in the late 1920s, but fell again in the thirties, reaching a low of £7,112 in 1937.[196] In most years, the department's budget allocation amounted to roughly one-quarter of one percent of the Protectorate total, despite the large revenues earned from the collection of "found" and poached ivory – revenues that were plowed into the general revenue of the Protectorate without regard for the needs of the department responsible for the ivory's collection. "Undermanned and too poorly financed for the tasks assigned to them," Nora Kelly writes of the early game department, "the harassed staff tried to prevent poaching, study the game and its needs, control

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[194] Nora Kelly, *In Wildest Africa: The Preservation of Game in Kenya, 1895-1933* (Ph.D. Thesis: Simon Fraser University, 1978), p. 150.
[195] Ibid, p. 154.
[196] Ibid, p. 154.

the trade in ivory and other trophies, and protect farmers from the ravages of a large game population."[197]

Despite the game department's skeletal official staff and meager funding, its operations were augmented in other ways. First and most important was that the department employed numerous African scouts to undertake much of the work in the field. It is not known how many scouts the department employed, but Kelly reckons that before 1914 the number stood at around twenty to thirty, probably increasing during the interwar years.[198] The second strategy was adopted by Percival in 1921, whereby the department would accept the assistance of "honorary game wardens," chosen by the warden and recognized by the governor. These honorary game wardens held powers of arrest and were relied upon for the enforcement of game laws in the field. In practice, most honorary game wardens were concerned settlers and particularly professional hunters – local white men (in this period anyway) who shared the attitudes of the game department and held a vested interest in seeing wildlife protected from poachers. It certainly helped that Blayney Percival's brother, Philip, was a leading professional hunter and was in a position to advise on other "respectable" members of the profession. The first four honorary game wardens were appointed in 1922, increasing to over twenty in 1923 and to seventy-four a decade later. By enforcing the regulations without pay, honorary game wardens freed the overworked department to spend greater time in the reserves and in African areas fulfilling their official duties. Finally, the game department was aided by administrative officers stationed around the country who took an interested in the protection of game and reported on poaching and other illegal activities as much as their time would allow.

The passage of these game regulations in 1900 and the creation of a department to enforce them had a direct, immediate, and profound influence on the rise of the safari industry

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[197] Ibid, p. 154.
[198] Ibid, p. 151.

in East Africa. The regulations were animated by the objective to favor sportsmen and visitors and to deter commercial hunters and others who did not observe "sporting" codes of conduct. A considerable part of the correspondence between officials, in fact, dealt with the question of who was responsible for the decimation of wildlife. One side of the debate believed that Africans were primarily responsible because they did not respect closed seasons or license regulations, but enjoyed the same advantages as the European as soon as they secured modern firearms. Frederick Selous, for example, a legendary African hunter, made the bold but unsubstantiated argument that Africans were almost wholly responsible for the destruction of wildlife. "It must not be forgotten," he wrote, "that in many districts in the interior of Africa the destruction of the game has been almost entirely due to natives possessed of firearms, whilst, at the present moment, it is hardly too much to say that 997 out of every 1,000 elephants whose tusks come to the London market are killed by African natives."[199] Sir Alfred Sharpe, the Acting Commissioner of British Central Africa, likewise wrote that "very few elephants are shot by Europeans in tropical Africa," and that "the number [they] killed annually is trifling compared with the vast number which are constantly being mobbed and followed and killed by Africans."[200]

The opposite and competing view, which included such individuals as Berkeley, Jackson, and von Wissman, held that European hunters and their modern rifles were largely responsible, that indigenous Africans had hitherto lived in a degree of harmony with animals, and that everywhere on earth where wildlife had suffered greatly — such as in southern Africa and the Great Plains of North America — owed mainly to the arrival of rapacious European commercial hunters. "I doubt the correctness of Mr. Sharpe's statement," von Wissman wrote,

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[199] Selous to the Foreign Office, 15 August 1897, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).
[200] Alfred Sharpe to the Marquess of Salisbury, 9 September 1896, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

"that the main blame for the extinction of big game in Africa rests with the natives, and not Europeans."[201] Sir John Kirk thought the main concern was to restrict the sale and dissemination of firearms, and added: "It is wonderful how little effect natives with spears, traps, and arrows have on game in a country, and how suddenly it disappears before the gun and rifle."[202]

Resolving this century-old debate is less important than the effect it had on the eventual regulations passed in British East Africa. Elements of both arguments were accepted by the authorities and integrated into the laws. Those who blamed Europeans for the destruction of wildlife were appeased by the virtual abolition of commercial hunting, the introduction of a license system, and the limits imposed on those who shot for sport. Those who blamed Africans achieved an equivalent concession in the limitation of African possession of firearms and the restrictions on most forms of African hunting, which effectively forced them out of the ivory trade and narrowed the scope for traditional methods of indigenous hunting. In general, the game regulations of 1900 and the revisions made in the coming decades sought to eliminate all methods and practices deemed "unsportsmanlike" in accordance with the sensibilities of the largely aristocratic, imperial, British ruling elites from whose class the majority of safari tourists hailed. Visiting sportsmen were among the principal beneficiaries of these changes.

Sir Harry Johnston, the Special Commissioner in Uganda, and a man of known progressive views who deplored the bloodlust of hunters, expressed an optimism (at least partly fulfilled in the years to come) about the prospects for game protection when he traveled on the Uganda Railway in 1899 and witnessed the "rare and beautiful sight" of abundant and varied wildlife in the Athi Plains outside Nairobi:

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[201] Enclosure in No. 10, Viscount Gough (Berlin) to Salisbury, 1 May 1897, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).
[202] Memorandum by Sir John Kirk, 31 July 1897 [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

> The whole hour's panorama of this wonderful zoological garden was like a sportsman's dream… The restrictions imposed [in the regulations of 1897 and 1899] on all persons entering the Game Reserve of the Athi Plains have been so firmly and consistently enforced, that *here, more than anywhere else in British Africa*, has the Government met with a prompt reward in its first efforts to preserve from extinction the remarkable and beautiful animals which still constitute the glory of African fauna.[203]

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The final factor of importance that helped Kenya's safari industry to achieve success in the first decade of the twentieth century was the arrival of a sizable population of white settlers, whose presence in the country increased the availability of services and amenities that tourists expected to find when they traveled overseas, from transport and infrastructure, to hotels and outfitters, and above all to the safari companies themselves. White settlers began to arrive in numbers after 1903 for several interrelated reasons. The first and most important reason (to be examined in greater detail in the next chapter) was the construction of the Uganda Railway across the East Africa Protectorate. In the immediate sense, the railway provided a means to get there, a means to transport machinery and goods to European farms, and a means to export agricultural produce to world markets. At the same time, the railway precipitated the rise of Nairobi as the commercial and political hub of the highlands, home to merchants and traders of all varieties who thrived in the busy setting of this growing city. The railway, in short, made commercial agriculture feasible, greased the wheels of commerce, and held out the prospect of profit for those willing to take the risks. More than this, the tremendous costs of constructing 600 miles of track through a region with few ready-made customers compelled the authorities to cast about for a strategy to increase economic activity in the region and thereby make the railway pay.

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[203] My emphasis. See Notes by Sir H. Johnston, 10 October 1899, enclosed in The British Plenipotentiaries of the Game Conference to Salisbury, 21 May, 1900, [Cd. 3189], *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1906).

It would be wrong to assert, however, that British authorities strived from the outset to encourage European settlement. Initially, there was much uncertainty about what form colonization should take, and various schemes were considered, including the encouragement of further Indian settlement (which continued to occur but without official support), and the idea of establishing in East Africa a settlement for Zionist Jewish refugees from eastern Europe (which failed to transpire, partly because of Anglo settler opposition to the scheme, and partly because the Zionists decided to pursue their plans for relocation to Palestine). What mattered most to the East African authorities initially was that sufficient numbers of farmers, traders, and merchants could be induced to settle in order to increase freight and traffic on the railway. The indecision over what form this settlement should take owed partly to widespread doubts that Europeans were capable of settling permanently in the tropics, an idea espoused by most of the British explorers and administrators who had traveled and lived in the region in the 1880s and 1890s. Indeed, Sir Harry Johnston, a distinguished explorer, scholar, and colonial administrator, envisioned in 1899 that there would be "a great overflow of India into these insufficiently inhabited, uncultivated parts of East Africa now ruled by Britain and Germany," but that equatorial Africa was unsuitable for Europeans.[204] Sir John Kirk, who had played a major role in ending the slave trade in the region, regarded East Africa as "India's America," and continued to scoff at the idea of white settlement in the highlands as late as 1903.[205]

Attitudes began to shift around 1902. Sir Charles Eliot, the new governor of the Protectorate, had arrived in 1901 and began to promote white settlement with ever-increasing zeal, aided by his unofficial counterpart, Hugh Cholmondeley, the 3rd Baron Delamere (or

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[204] Harry Johnston, *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1899), p. 281.

[205] Quoted in Norman Leys, *Kenya* (London: Hogarth Press, 1924), p. 77. Kirk had held such views since the 1880s. See, for example, Reginald Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble* (London: Faber and Faber, 1939).

"Lord Delamere"), who arrived in Kenya in 1901 and is often regarded as the leading settler figure in Kenya's history. "We have in East Africa," Eliot wrote, "the rare experience of dealing with a *tabula rasa,* an almost untouched and sparsely inhabited country, where we can do as we will, regulate immigration, and open or close the door as seems best."[206] Eliot had clear ideas about what this should mean: "the main object of our policy and legislation must be to found a white colony," he proclaimed as early as 1903.[207] Delamere, meanwhile, took up this idea with all his tremendous energy and helped to establish the idea of East Africa as a "white man's country," aided by his leading political role on the Legislative Council of the Protectorate, where settlers gained three appointments in 1907.[208]

Around this time, the East Africa Protectorate saw an influx of settlers from South Africa following the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Boer War in May 1902, among whom were Victor Newland and Leslie Tarlton, the founders and namesakes of East Africa's first dedicated safari company, Newland, Tarlton, and Co., Ltd. A few early settlers had already begun experiments that provided a template for others to follow, and new arrivals enjoyed more attractive terms for the acquisition of land owing to the passage of the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902. A man named Stuart Ward had begun cultivating eucalyptus, wattle trees, and fruit trees shortly after the railway passed through Nairobi.[209] French missionaries introduced coffee-growing to the area near Nairobi around the same time, and others emulated the experiments and eventually achieved commercial success. In 1903, Messrs. Swift and

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[206] Sir Charles Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), p. 103.
[207] Elspeth Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya* (London: Longmans, Green, 1948), p. 9.
[208] Lord Delamere, "White Man's Country, 1903," Robert O. Collins (ed.), *Eastern African History: Vol. II of African History: Text and Readings,* African History in Documents (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1990), pp. 150-53. See also Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1935).
[209] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 195.

Rutherford began growing sisal, one of East Africa's most important exports.[210] Above all, Lord Delamere and other wealthy aristocrats began a series of ambitious and costly agricultural experiments that helped break the ground (literally and figuratively) for other settlers that followed.

The nature of the territory and the patterns that settlement took exerted an important influence on the social cast of the Protectorate, and this extended to the safari industry in indirect ways. Initially, as one historian, M.P.K. Sorrenson, writes, East Africa was "essentially a British South African colony" owing to the preponderance of settlers from South Africa of both British and Boer descent. Increasingly over time, however, and particularly after 1912, East Africa became home to a sizable number of British aristocrats and gentry who held influence in the territory out of proportion to their number. One of the main reasons for the growing preponderance of aristocrats was that successful agricultural ventures in a land of untried soils and unusual climate required a great deal of capital. Lord Delamere in particular "bled white" his family's estate in England, Vale Royal, to finance his ambitious experiments in agriculture and stockraising in East Africa, including projects to cross-breed cattle and create new varieties of wheat that could resist local diseases and thrive in a tropical climate. Although Delamere eventually achieved success and helped work out successful agricultural methods that could be adopted by others, other settlers were less lucky. Lord Cranworth, another aristocratic settler and later professional hunter, undertook numerous agricultural experiments before the First World War – including attempts to produce coffee, black wattle, pigs, cattle, and timber – but all of them proved expensive failures that were ultimately abandoned when he returned to England after the First World War.[211] For smaller farmers, the expenses of

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[210] Ibid, p. 195.

[211] A summary of Cranworth's ventures is provided in Valerie Pakenham, *The Noonday Sun: Edwardians in the Tropics* (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 79-80. Despite his personal failures in East African agriculture, Cranworth remained optimistic about the colony's future. See, for example, his own writings

plowing, planting, harvesting, and taking their crops to market often exceeded the profits their farms yielded. Plantations seeking to produce cash crops, particularly coffee and sisal, took years to produce a mature crop, and were often vulnerable to disease and weather in the interim, as Karen Blixen famously discovered to her dismay in the 1920s and 1930s. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that government, recognizing that settlers needed capital to undertake experiments and survive setbacks, formulated policies that tended to give preference to those with capital and to exclude those without, resulting in a far greater presence of aristocrats than in other colonies of white settlement in Africa.

The same official concern for developing East Africa and making the railway pay also resulted in large tracts of land being granted to induce "English gentlemen of position and money to interest themselves in the Protectorate," provided these settlers could prove they possessed capital sufficient to develop their estates.[212] In 1903, Delamere was offered 100,000 acres on a ninety-nine year lease, and was on his way to getting a second allotment of 100,000 acres by 1906. Eliot likewise promised Ewart Grogan and a timber merchant, F.R. Lingham, 128,000 acres on a fifty year lease, along with fifty acres of valuable water front property at Kilindini Harbor. The precedent created for Delamere could hardly been withheld from others. Lord Hindlip acquired 20,000 acres of Crown land in the highlands by August 1905. Powys Cobb was allowed to purchase two 6,000 acre farms in the Rift Valley in addition to 30,000 acres promised to him on the Mau plateau. At the end of 1909, a Canadian, Northrup McMillan, was allowed to purchase 14,351 acres in addition to 15,000 acres already acquired

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on the subject: *A Colony in the Making. Or Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1912); and *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939).

[212] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 70.

from the Crown in his wife's name.[213] Further land grants were made along similar lines, and special terms of sale were arranged for acceptable colonists with more modest capital reserves.

If Delamere can be credited with making good on his promise of devoting substantial amounts of capital to East Africa during the course of his lifetime, other lease holders had less to recommend them. Shortly after grants had been made to Delamere and others, Eliot made offers to the East Africa Syndicate, a commercial concern formed by entrepreneurs from South Africa and London to prospect for minerals in the territory. These offers came under serious criticism from the Foreign Office as well as the public owing to fears of land speculation that might hobble commercial and agricultural development by driving land prices too high. It was in the process of debating the Foreign Office over the validity of land offers made to representatives of the East Africa Syndicate that Eliot laid bare the dark side of these large land grants: they deprived indigenous Africans of land and effectively brushed aside the original inhabits in order to make way for farms and tourist spaces. Eliot spoke bluntly about his native policy in connection to land in a memorandum that caused him considerable embarrassment in Britain:

> No doubt on platforms and in reports we declare we have no intention of depriving natives of their lands, but this has never prevented us from taking whatever land we want…. Your Lordship has opened this Protectorate to white… colonization, and I think it is well that, in confidential correspondence at least, we should face the undoubted issue – viz., that white mates black in very few moves…. There can be no doubt that the Masai and many other tribes must go under. It is a prospect which I view with equanimity and a clear conscience…. I have no desire to protect Masaidom. It is a beastly, bloody system, founded on raiding and immorality, disastrous to both the Masai and their neighbours. The sooner it disappears and is unknown, except in books of anthropology, the better.[214]

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[213] M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Origins of European Settlement in Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 115.
[214] Ibid, p. 76.

The Foreign Office refused to approve Eliot's grants to members of the East African Syndicate, and Eliot offered his resignation. The Foreign Office, after publishing this letter to considerable criticism in Britain (*The Times* found Eliot's attitude "indefensible" and most of the British press fell in line with this view), accepted his resignation.

Such reservations about the excesses of colonial land appropriation did little to temper the quest to transform East Africa into a "white man's country." Year by year, settlers grew larger in number and more vocal in their demands. As their demands grew and their influence increased, pressure mounted for the authorities of the Protectorate – under Colonial Office administration after 1905 – to frame policies more friendly to European colonization. The white population grew quickly, particularly during the governorship of Sir Percy Girouard, a highly efficient administrator who made the promotion of white settlement the hallmark of his tenure as governor. The process had, of course, already begun. In April 1903, Eliot had reported that about 100 Europeans had settled in and around Nairobi, mostly from South Africa.[215] A party of 252 Boers arrived from South Africa in July 1908 and settled together on the remote Uasin Gishu plateau, one of the largest settlements so far.[216] By 1910, only a year after Girouard became governor, some 4,000 square miles of land had been "alienated" to European settlers and the figures would continue to climb.[217] Altogether, the European population in Kenya tripled between 1905 and 1914, climbing from 1,813 in 1905, to 3,175 in 1911, to 5,438 in 1914. The colony was poised for another explosion of growth after the First World War. Kenya's European population increased to 9,651 in 1921, 16,812 in 1931, and 20,894 in 1938.[218]

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[215] Ibid, p. 65.
[216] Ibid, p. 102.
[217] Ibid, p. 103.
[218] Dane Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), Appendix: Table 3, p. 197.

Many of these upper-class settlers were attracted to the British East Africa Protectorate for the same reasons as sportsmen. Like many of the hunters and tourists going on safari, settlers often learned of the colony's possibilities by reading tales of hunting and adventure and came originally for that reason. Indeed, those striving to increase the presence of British settlers of the "right class" often saw a direct link between the two endeavors, as Lord Cranworth revealed in the subtitle of his book, *Sport and Profit in British East Africa*.[219] It was hoped that some visiting sportsmen, attracted by the possibilities of sport and the country's promise of an aristocratic country lifestyle then becoming hard to maintain in Britain, would be persuaded to settle in the colony, bringing with them the expertise and capital needed to develop a country where bold private initiatives were required. The existence of congenial climate, beautiful scenery, and seemingly fertile soil were obviously a bonus. The historian C.C. Wrigley wrote of East Africa's attractions to the settler:

> Sun and space, mountain scenery and lions were and long remained Kenya's most important assets, and among the European settlers there were always many whose object was not so much to make money as to spend it on congenial occupations in a delightful land. It was chiefly the presence of such resident tourists that enabled the country for sixty years to maintain a consistently enormous adverse balance of trade and a not certainly known but undoubtedly large adverse balance of payments on income account.[220]

The arrival of a sizable white settler population in East Africa exercised an important influence on the history of the region's safari tourism industry. On the most basic level, the presence of white settlers, many from the British upper classes, increased the availability of services desired by Western tourists. These settlers built and owned hotels, became outfitters and guides, opened taxidermy studios, founded clubs and other local enterprises, and in general catered to the needs of the visitor – in most cases able to attain the high standards expected by

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[219] Lord Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making. Or Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1912).
[220] C.C. Wrigley, "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-45," in *History of East Africa,* Vol. 2, Vincent Harlow, E.M. Chillier, Alison Smith, eds. (Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 217.

wealthy visitors, and to imbue this tropical African colony with the flavor of a fashionable Edwardian resort. Because white settlers owned and operated most of the safari companies and guided the predominantly Western clients, they became leaders of the industry and shaped its directions. As members of the governing race, their interests were well represented in law and economic arrangements, conferring numerous advantages over the indigenous population, and giving settlers influence over colonial policy concerning wildlife and conservation. White settlers in the safari industry likewise possessed greater connections and familiarity with Europe and North America, from which most tourists hailed, and were better placed to use personal, cultural, and business connections to publicize the tourism industry to potential clients overseas.

The large pool of white settlers resident in East Africa offered particular advantages where it concerned the occupation of professional hunting. These white settlers, many drawn from the ranks of Britain's gentry and aristocracy, socially upper class but economically on the margins and in search of supplementary income, provided an ideal reserve of the "right types" of men needed to lead wealthy foreign elites on safari. Their permanent residence in Kenya, usually on farms near the game lands, made many white settlers experts at bush-craft, tracking, and shooting under the unique demands of the country. They possessed familial and social relations overseas with tourists who could afford trips to Africa. They felt at home with princes and aristocrats no less than self-made American magnates. Being farmers and tradesmen, they possessed other forms of income to tide them through the off seasons when the safari business became slow. Without a population of white settlers, without the marginal profits that made them seek supplementary forms of income, and without the upper-class connections these individuals often possessed, it is hard to imagine the region's safari industry emerging so early or achieving such marked growth.

Tourists, for their part, took comfort from the knowledge that tourist services were provided by people of a familiar race, culture, and language, who understood not only the business practices of the West, but also the social conventions and expectations held by elite classes of visitors. Although a safari tourism industry could have existed in the absence of white settlers – as, indeed, it did elsewhere on the continent at later times – a population of enterprising settlers with capital and social connections accelerated the rise of the industry, gave East Africa a head start over competing destinations, and conferred advantages that would be exploited for much of the colonial age.

* * *

These considerations, arcane though they may seem to the modern reader, weighed heavily on the decisions of intending safari tourists in the early years of the century. The British East Africa Protectorate captured the lion's share of safari tourists and became the acknowledged center of the industry. The region's status as the premier destination for safari tourism owed a great deal to the region's natural endowments of wildlife and scenery, its accessibility to the traveler, and its highly favorable climate. Yet the region also drew important benefits from the establishment of the British colonial state, including an umbrella of imperial security, the encouragement of white settlers who provided safari services, and the introduction of infrastructure and transportation technology that made tourism in Africa possible. The status of British East Africa's safari industry became so firmly entrenched by the end of the first decade of the century that, when Theodore Roosevelt retired from the presidency and wrote to leading hunting experts to enquire about an African safari, the response was unanimous. British East Africa was the hunting land *par excellence* and its success as a destination had caused a proliferation of safaris services for the benefit of future visitors. As R.J. Cunninghame, who had served as one of Roosevelt's guides, explained in 1912:

> British East Africa, with its main centre at Nairobi, is now in such an advanced state of development that practically a complete outfit for the sportsman or the Settler may be there obtained, even to the matter of guns and rifles. […] There are sundry firms in British East Africa who make a specialty of fully equipping and organising shooting parties… [Almost] everything that the sportsman or settler requires can be obtained locally.[221]

British East Africa, he proclaimed, held the "premier position [in Africa] in the quantity and variety of wild animals which can be shot, under the most comfortable conditions and within easy reach, by the most modern means of communication [and travel]."[222]

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[221] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 151.
[222] Ibid, p. 143.

Chapter 3: The Advent of the Luxury Tourist Safari

To be a tourist is, of course, to travel, and not only to travel from one's home to the destination, but also, in the case of the safari, to travel within the country of destination in search of wild animals. We saw in the preceding chapter some of the advantages that East Africa possessed that made it attractive as a tourist destination: its abundant and varied wildlife, its scenic attractions, its favorable climate, and its accessible location in a country whose fauna and flora were protected by game regulations and made safe for the tourist by the security of the British colonial state. This chapter extends the theme by showing how East Africa benefited as a tourist destination from a transportation revolution that made East Africa accessible to travelers. The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, the construction of the Uganda Railway between 1895 and 1902, countless roads, bridges, tramlines, and cart-paths, combined with the new technologies of steamships and combustion engines, borne of the industrial revolution, made it possible for the first time for large numbers of people to travel to and within East Africa in short periods of time and with relative ease. Since tourism is fundamentally dependent upon travel, it is hardly surprising that major developments in transportation technology precipitated rapid growth of tourism industries at attractive destinations previously difficult to reach.

The second purpose of this chapter is to describe the character of the safari and the patterns it typically followed. Despite the wide variety of habits, motivations, and cultures of safari visitors, and despite the client's ability to custom tailor an expedition to his own desires, this chapter argues that certain patterns developed in the way tourist safaris were conducted in the early twentieth century. It is important to remember that the safari in the early twentieth century had yet to coalesce into the familiar form that is recognizable today from its many depictions by Hollywood and in other cultural representations. It remained in the early century

very much a new innovation, marked, to be sure, by certain distinctive traits inherited from the expeditions of great explorers and nimrods in the nineteenth century, but not yet distinctive to the degree it would later become. This chapter thus aims to show how the methods of travel, the organization of the safari industry, the favored practices, and the conditions of the British territories where the safari actually occurred acquired a set of distinctive features during this period that would persist for most of the twentieth century.

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"The preparations for an African hunt," wrote Percy Madeira, a Philadelphia industrialist, shortly after his safari with Newland and Tarlton in 1907, "seem rather complicated to those unfamiliar with such an undertaking, but in reality so much of this hunting is done by Europeans that matters have become systematized, and today all arrangements can be made with little or no difficulty."[223] Indeed, by 1905, when Newland and Tarlton had fully entered the business, all a potential client needed to do was to find the proper channels of information and get in touch with the right parties. Thereafter the safari company and its agents would furnish the client with all the information needed to plan a trip exactly to his tastes, provide him with lists of equipment, inform him of particulars regarding travel and customs, answer any questions in extended correspondence, and in general ensure that even the novice found the preparations as painless as possible.

Finding this information and making the necessary business connections was informal and ad hoc at first, but increasingly became standardized as the industry developed in the years preceding the First World War. Some tourists got information on safari travel by writing directly to the British authorities on the spot. A few tourists got advice from friends or acquaintances who had already completed a successful safari. Others yet found information in

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[223] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 17.

books and memoirs published by hunters with knowledge of Africa. Madeira found his way to the proper channels by writing directly to the famous London taxidermist, Rowland Ward, who ran a side business in the publishing industry that collated and disseminated up-to-date information about all the sporting locales of the world.[224] Rowland Ward, at 167 Piccadilly, forwarded the enquiry next door to 166 Piccadilly, where Newland and Tarlton had established its London office. The majority of intending visitors, however, found information about the East African safari in one of the prominent periodicals on hunting, such as *Forest and Stream* in North America and *The Field* in Britain, where such information was advertised by safari companies, discussed by knowledgeable readers in letters to the editor, and occasionally reported upon by professional writers.[225] Newland and Tarlton, which captured the majority of this business, responded to all enquiries directly and, after 1908, sent all potential clients their lavishly illustrated advertising booklet that explained the particulars in detail.

Most safari tourists preferred to secure their equipment at one of the upper-scale outfitting stores in New York or London, while the outfitters, keen for business, seized the opportunity by circulating lengthy lists of equipment recommended for African hunts. When Madeira's letter arrived at Rowland Ward, the taxidermist had passed his enquiry to the Army & Navy Stores in London, which provided tinned food, provisions, tents, camp equipment, and other gear, and arranged for all of the supplies to be shipped on consignment directly to Mombasa and thence by rail to Nairobi, so that the entire safari outfit was waiting when the

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[224] These various options for discovering safari services are described in Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), pp. 1-2. Percy Madeira's account is found in Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 17.

[225] See, for example, *Forest and Stream: A Journal of Outdoor Life, Travel, Nature Study, Shooting, Fishing, Yachting…,* LXXI (28 November 1908), p. 878, where Newland and Tarlton advertised: "British East Africa: Big-game hunting parties thoroughly and economically equipped." *The Field,* meanwhile, became the preeminent source for information on the African safari. In addition to numerous advertisements and a number of articles, the pages of the magazine served as a forum for readers to enquire about the details of the East African safari and for others, who had been there, to report back with the latest and most up-to-date information.

tourist arrived in Africa. Other outfitters, such as Lawn and Alder in London and the original Abercrombie and Fitch in New York, offered similar services, though it became increasingly known among safari visitors that most of their goods could also be obtained in Africa, with the advantages of much lower shipping costs, less inconvenience to the traveler, and schemes to buy back most of the equipment, at a discount, when the safari concluded in Nairobi.

Once the safari was planned and all the supplies secured and packed, the tourist boarded a steamship at the nearest port — usually in New York, Southampton, or Hamburg — and sailed (or traveled by rail) to the next port in the Mediterranean, typically Naples or Marseilles, where tourists could enjoy a few days' rest and sightseeing before the final departure for Africa.[226] The next stage of the journey took four or five days and carried the passengers across the Mediterranean to Port Said, at the entrance to the Suez Canal. For the next twenty-four hours, the ship crept through the canal waters at a slow pace until finally it reached Suez at the mouth of the Red Sea. After exiting the Red Sea, the ship would sail through the Gulf of Aden, around the horn of Africa, and down the coasts of British East Africa, before finally dropping its anchor at Mombasa's Kilindini Harbor.

Many visitors delighted in the chance aboard the ship to meet fellow passengers and make their social rounds. Most of the passengers bound for British East Africa before the war tended to be British. Americans "very seldom visit Africa," W.W. Wheeler, an American sailing the British steamer *Dunvegan Castle* from Marseilles to Mombasa, commented in 1912. "We were the only Americans aboard and waited for our English cousins to make the advances. They were delightful people — many of them, as we were, taking the trip for pleasure."[227]

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[226] The Madeiras had a representative experience for American travelers. They sailed across the Atlantic to Southampton, then to Naples, and from there journeyed across the Mediterranean on the steamship *Burgomeister,* part of the German East Africa line, a popular steamer service for wealthy passenger traffic. They left on the 18th of November, 1907, and arrived at Port Said on the 22nd. Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 26.

[227] W.W. Wheeler, *Our Holiday in Africa* (Self-published, 1912), pp. 1, 9.

Passengers of all nationalities mingled together, enjoying the camaraderie (bounded by social hierarchies) that this kind of travel encouraged. Travelers often sailed in groups as well, forming distinct cliques aboard the ship's social scene. Such was the case for A. Barton Hepburn, who traveled with his Yale classmates Samuel Pirie, Lyman Hine, Lloyd Folsom, and John Terry.[228]

This speedy route through the Mediterranean and down the eastern coast of Africa was made possible by the completion of Suez Canal in 1869, which halved the travel time from Europe to Britain's East African territories. Before the canal was finished, to reach Zanzibar or Mombasa, ships had to travel the Atlantic Ocean past Spain and Morocco along the western coast of Africa, over the sprawling Angola Basin west of the continent, around the Cape, and finally back northward past Madagascar and the Seychelles before finally reaching East Africa. The journey took six weeks or more and required stops at multiple ports along the way, where mysterious diseases laid low some of the European travelers. The Suez Canal greatly shortened the journey from Europe to East Africa and made its route more congenial to the traveler. Henceforth tourists could sail either from northern Europe through the Mediterranean, or they could travel overland by train across the continent of Europe before disembarking from a port at the southern reaches of France, Spain, or Italy, even attaching a trip to Africa to the end of a European tour. The length of the sea voyage was thereby shortened to a mere three weeks, half the time it previously took to round the Cape, and travelers on the new route could mostly avoid the threat of tropical disease.

The completion of the Suez Canal led to the creation of numerous new steamship lines that serviced the stretch of water between the Mediterranean coast of Europe and the ports of East Africa. The island of Zanzibar, under British administration, was traditionally an old

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[228] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 9.

trading center and entrepôt that straddled the waypoint between Africa and the East, but it was Mombasa's splendid deep-water port that increasingly took the bulk of seaborne traffic. Regular steamship service came gradually at first but increased with the formal establishment of European trade and administration in the German and British territories. Shortly after the canal was opened, the British India Steam Navigation Company established a regular service of mail steamers between Zanzibar and the ports of Europe and India, though German lines dominated the passenger traffic owing to subsidies from the German government.[229] One of the first new passenger steamers was the 1,800-ton German ship, *Juba,* which arrived in 1890. The Austrian Triestino line began a monthly service from Trieste to Mombasa in 1900.[230]

Five major steamship lines regularly served the Port of Mombasa by 1905, when the safari tourism industry began to take off.[231] Several other lines established services by the time of the First World War, and those that already existed expanded their services, offering multiple rates and different schedules of service. Most companies sailed from Europe to East Africa about once per month. One of the most popular, the Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie (German East Africa Line), offered a fortnightly service between Hamburg and Mombasa and claimed the "best and quickest route to East Africa and Uganda."[232] Union Castle's Royal East African Steamship Service, one of the favorites of British travelers, sailed monthly from Southampton via the Suez Canal to Mombasa and Zanzibar (and other ports down the line), and weekly via the West Coast of Africa on a route that rounded the Cape. Union Castle was particularly

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[229] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 5.

[230] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 51.

[231] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 51. The five lines offering services to East Africa in 1905 were the Deutsche Ost-Afrika-Linie, the Union Castle Line, the Austrian Lloyd Line, the Messageries Maritimes, and the British India Steam Navigation Company.

[232] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 16. Details about the individual steamship companies are drawn mostly from advertisements listed, without page number, throughout Ward and Milligan's guidebook.

attractive to safari tourists because it allowed first-class passengers 30 cubic feet of luggage space to accommodate the large amount of gear needed on safari. The Compagnie Des Messageries Maritimes (French Mail Steamers) sailed from Marseilles to Mombasa on the 10th of each month, making for an eighteen-day journey from London, including a 24 hours by rail. The Austrian Lloyd Line sailed between Trieste and Mombasa once per month. Rennie's Aberdeen Line sailed from London about every twelve days, but the traveler had to go by the West Coast route around the Cape before continuing to East Africa. The British India Steam Navigation Company served both East and South African ports, traveling from London and Marseilles, calling at Port Said, Suez, Port Sudan, Aden, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Beira, and Delagoa Bay — all with steamers "fitted for eastern travel."[233]

The cost of steamship travel to Mombasa on most lines from Southampton was £72 for a first class round-trip passage, £48 for a second class, and £30 for third class — all standard fares at the time for respectable steamer lines. A few offered lower fares but were less popular among wealthy travelers bound for a safari. The Italian East Africa Line offered one of the cheapest rates at only £34 for first class, or £25 for second class, leaving Genoa for Mombasa every 28 days. The average time from Southampton or London to Mombasa was 27 or 28 days, and between the last European port (usually Marseilles or Naples) and Mombasa only 19 days. The numerous options to sail around the Cape existed primarily to serve the shipping needs of southern Africa, but most tourists to East Africa would have taken the direct route through the Suez Canal. Beyond this, the tourist's choice of steamship line was governed more by when it departed and returned than by cost. Other steamship lines proliferated in the years thereafter, partly to bring goods and supplies for the construction of cities and other imperial

[233] Ibid.

projects, and partly to ship the goods of the region out of Africa to their destinations in distant commercial markets.

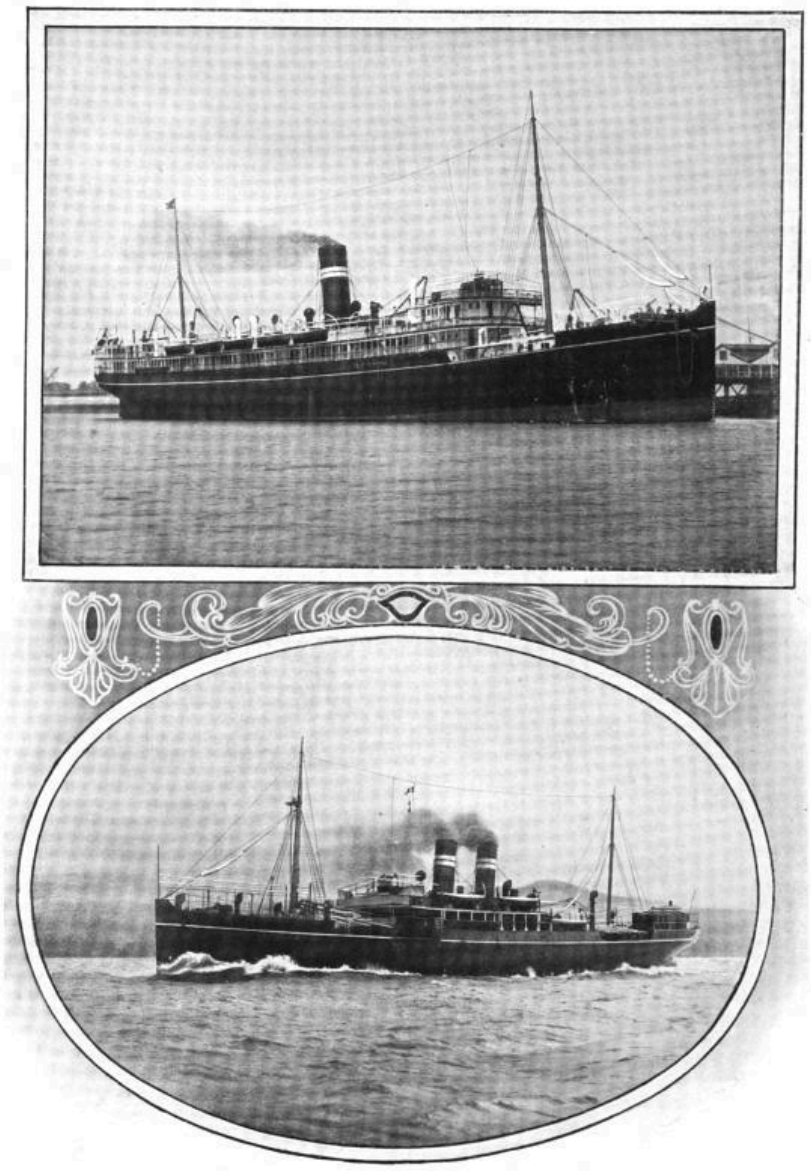

Illustration 9: Popular steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company, c. 1908.[234]

[234] Source: Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).

Passengers spoke favorably about the quality of steamship travel and the conveniences it offered to the tourist. In 1912, the year the luxurious Titanic sailed the North Atlantic, W.W. Wheeler emphasized that such luxurious travel could be enjoyed by passengers to Africa as well. "The comfort and convenience of ocean going steamers in recent years," he wrote, "has almost eliminated time and distance, and one can travel from any place to any place on the surface of the globe in a few months without great discomfort."[235] Although slow by the standards of modern air transport, these steamship services offered a tremendous improvement over the arduously slow journey required before the Suez Canal eliminated the need to circumvent the continent of Africa. "The facilities afforded by various excellent steamship companies," the leading guidebook proclaimed, "nowadays brings the [East Africa] Protectorate within easy reach of England and European ports."[236]

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At the end of this voyage by steamship through the Suez Canal and down the coast of eastern Africa, the tourist finally disembarked at Mombasa's Kilindini Harbor, which Winston Churchill described as "the gate of British East Africa."[237] The central part of the city of Mombasa, though fully enclosed within Africa's eastern shores, is actually a small island several miles across, the remnant of an ancient delta, separated from the mainland by the harbor on one side and Tudor Creek on the other. Travelers were greeted by an imposing Portuguese castle that commands the north and south entrances to the harbor, built in 1591 and named Fort Jesus, its massive walls designed to resist cannon fire. H.K. Binks found the scene in Mombasa in 1900 "kaleidoscopic and animated," with sea-going Arab dhows (lateen sailing ships)

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[235] W.W. Wheeler, *Our Holiday in Africa* (1912), p. 5.
[236] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 16.
[237] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908, 1962), p. 2.

populating the waters in clusters.[238] The sight of coral-colored buildings and tiled roofs waited on the island in the distance. Once ships dropped anchor, the passengers and their belongings were rowed ashore in small boats.[239] Mombasa at the dawn of the century was characterized by all the enchanting vibrancy of an ancient trading city where the worlds of Africa and Asia collide. The climate is warm and humid but not intolerable. "Mombasa," Edward Bennet wrote in 1912, "is brilliant in its tropic luxuriance, feather palms and great trees of dense foliage, laced together by clinging creepers, and in startling contrast to their green luxury are the red roofs of the houses and the splendid purple patches of Bougainville."[240]

[238] H.K. Binks, *African Rainbow* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1959, 1961), p. 10.
[239] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 28.
[240] Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1914), pp. 18-19.

Illustration 10: A street scene in Mombasa, 1912.[241]

Travelers who had arranged their safaris with Newland and Tarlton were usually met in Mombasa either by Victor Newland or by his company's agents in Mombasa, a firm called Smith, MacKenzie and Company, which helped to facilitate the tourist's entry into the country. "This firm [Smith, MacKenzie, and Company]," another tourist wrote a couple years later, "is ubiquitous in Mombasa and Zanzibar. They attend to everything for you, and relieve you from much worry, vexation, and rupees. They pay your custom duties [of 10 percent], get all your mountains of stuff on the train for Nairobi, and all you have to do is pay them a commission [of 5 percent] and look pleasant."[242] After a short walk along the shore past corrugated iron

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[241] Source: A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds: Being An Account of a Four Months' Expedition in British East Africa, for the Purpose of Securing Photographs of the Game from Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910).

[242] John McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1910), p. 35.

sheds and shipyards, the tourists climbed a pathway and reached what Madeira called a "toy-railroad," by which he meant the narrow-gauge trolley line that linked parts of the city for passenger traffic. The rails and rolling stock had originally been imported by the British East Africa Company to build a railway into the interior, but, when that failed for financial reasons, the materials were converted into a trolley line and used as a means of locomotion for the city's white inhabitants.

> [It had] tracks about two feet wide and 12 lb. rails, which constituted the Mombasa trolley, or garry tracks. The car consists of a small platform about five feet square, on which is erected a seat, covered by an awning. The motive power is supplied by two natives, who run at the back of the car and push it along. It is reminiscent of the hand-car one sees on our railroads at home. Whenever there is a down-grade, the human motors hop on the back and coast with the car, and the speed with which they get you over the ground by this means of propulsion is remarkable. These little tracks run to all the principal houses and stores in town, and everybody of importance owns his own private garry, and has his garry boys decored with his colors in fancy turbans and sashes over their white gowns.[243]

[243] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), pp. 28-29.

Illustration 11: The Mombasa trolley, here carrying Joseph Chamberlain and his wife.[244]

Tourists could stay in one of several hotels in Mombasa that catered to tourists. The most popular hotels were The Grand, which branded itself as the "leading hotel in Mombasa," and the Hotel Cecil.[245] Both advertised that they could outfit shooting parties and provide safari camp equipment on their premises. Other travelers could stay at the Africa Hotel on Vasco de Gama Street.[246] Most travelers found these hotels suitable and they achieved steady improvement, but Madeira in 1907 (who was hardly alone among safari tourists in receiving special dispensation from the local authorities) found Mombasa's hotels "dirty and uninviting"

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[244] Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).
[245] *The Times of East Africa,* 24 February 1906.
[246] *The East African Standard,* 29 August 1908, p. 10.

and opted instead for a stay at Government House, thanks to letters of introduction from the Colonial Secretary in London to the District Commissioner, S.L. Hinde, and the Governor General, Sir James Hayes Saddler.[247]

* * *

After a few days in Mombasa dealing with customs, ensuring the safe arrival of all essential luggage, and taking in the sites, the tourists boarded the Uganda Railway for Nairobi. Winston Churchill described it as "one of the most romantic and most wonderful railways in the world," which allowed travelers to "penetrate into the heart of Africa as easily and safely as he may travel from London to Vienna."[248] Travelers were carried in train cars styled after those used in India, divided into passenger compartments of first, second, and third class seating, with heavy windows and latticed shades extending down the sides. Through these windows the traveler could watch as the train ascended the hills and ridges outside Mombasa and passed through various stages of vegetation and scenery, beginning with tropical forests, then through banana, palm, and mimosa trees, then past villages and plantations, and finally to the plains at higher elevation, where travelers witnessed "continuous herds on both sides of the railroad, covering the plains as far as the eye could reach."[249] Lucky passengers could secure a seat on the front of the train for an afternoon, where they had a better view of the wildlife. Those unsatisfied with the rustic conditions on the early train cars quickly had their attentions diverted to the unique lands through which they traveled.

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[247] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 30.
[248] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908, 1962), p. 2.
[249] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 34.

Illustration 12: Theodore Roosevelt (seated at left) and friends sit on the observation platform of the Uganda Railway, 1909.[250]

Magnificent scenery was hardly the only sensory experience. "The most lasting impression is the red clay," Edward Bennet wrote in 1912, referring to the ubiquitous red dust that sullied the tourists' attempts to present themselves in dashing white linens and khaki.

> You meet it everywhere, and it never leaves you; the carriages and wagons of the Uganda Railway are red mud color with red tarpaulins; the platforms are red mud; fine red sand blows in from the Taru desert, and you assimilate it into your system with the goat chops at the tin eating rooms on the railway; you open your red sandy throat and put a red mud peg down it.[251]

During the dry season, when rains failed to come for months on end, everything became dusty. "One's feet descended with little plops into soft, warm, red carpet," Elspeth Huxley

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[250] Roosevelt's safari, which generated unprecedented publicity for East Africa's safari industry, will be discussed in Chapter 4. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Derivatives of this photo appeared in The Pensacola Journal on 29 May 1909 and the Deseret Evening News on 26 May 1909.

[251] Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1914), p. 2.

remembered of her first experience of the country in 1913, "a red plume followed every wagon down the street, the dust had filmed over each brittle eucalyptus leaf and stained the seats and backs of rickshaws waiting under the trees."[252] The red dust even gave the country its own peculiar smell: "the smell of travel in those days," Huxley wrote, "in fact the smell of Africa — dry, peppery, yet rich and deep."[253] Passengers found the train cars comfortable but somewhat rustic, and they had to provide their own towel, soap, and bedding, and act as the porter of their own luggage.

Nothing compared with the scenes of game. East Africa's wildlife, then abundant under any conditions, were especially concentrated along the railway owing to the establishment of a game preserve that ran the length of the railway in a long narrow corridor. The resulting scenes from the railcars provided one of the great episodes of travel in East Africa. The view out the train window was a "panoramic menagerie of nature," Barton Hepburn, an American tourist, wrote, "disclosing in large degree the fauna of British East Africa, [which] fed the hungry eyes of sportsmen and tourist alike; a great expedition of wild life in the wilds of a great continent."[254] "The car-window gave us visage, and Dame Nature, with wonderful profusion, threw her fauna upon the screen."[255] Madeira called it a trip "through the greatest zoological garden that can be imagined."[256] Abel Chapman proclaimed in 1908 that "never before, nor ever again (it is safe to say) will there be presented to the view of the casual passenger such spectacles as today attend each train on the Uganda Railway."[257]

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[252] Elspeth Huxley, *The Flame Trees of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood* (Penguin, 1959, 1987), p. 7.
[253] Ibid, p. 10
[254] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 23.
[255] Ibid, p. 16.
[256] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 35.
[257] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 3.

Like many of the infrastructure projects that facilitated tourist travel in East Africa, the Uganda Railway was linked closely with the establishment of British rule in East Africa and Uganda. The original survey of the railway commenced in 1891 during the period of Company rule, under the direction of J.R.L. Macdonald of the Royal Engineers of India, who started from Mombasa in December of that year and carried out the survey to the northeast shores of Lake Victoria.[258] Frederick Jackson and Frederick Lugard later assisted in similar capacities by completing explorations, studies, and additional surveys.[259] Over the next four years those involved with the project worked out the details over how the costs should be borne, what gauge of track should be laid, and when the railway should be started and finished. In the meantime supplies and trade were carried upcountry by a makeshift oxcart road built haphazardly with both government and private funding. Telegraphic lines accompanied the extension of the railway and were intended not only to coordinate its construction but also to aid the establishment of British rule over the territory. The first telegraph lines reached Nairobi in 1898 and Entebbe in 1901, and were later extended to other cities in British East Africa.[260] Telegraphs were the only fast way to transmit information over long distances. It took three months to get a reply from Britain to any letter written from the East Africa Protectorate.

The path eventually chosen for the railway was built very close to the old caravan route, which Arab and African caravan leaders had plied over the centuries in their search for ivory and slaves. Constructing a railway was an expensive and elaborate undertaking that brought

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[258] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 12.

[259] Both men wrote extensively about their work in East Africa. See especially Frederick Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1930); and Frederick Lugard, *The Rise of Our East Africa Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893); Idem., *The Diaries of Lord Lugard,* edited by Margery Perham (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1959); and Idem., *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa,* 5th Edition (London: F. Cass, 1965). See also Margery Perham's biography: *Lugard: The Years of Adventure, 1858-1898* (London: Collins, 1956, 1960).

[260] C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 91.

in thousands of workers, including many from India, and relied on the expertise of a large team of engineers. The main trunk line from Mombasa to Nairobi was completed in about four years. The construction of the Uganda Railway had begun in the coastal city of Mombasa at the end of 1895, led by George Whitehouse, the chief engineer.[261] Once the railhead reached Nairobi in 1899, the main workshops and repair yard were moved there to be nearer the workings on the second and more difficult part of the line through the highlands. From this depot the engineers worked to construct tracks on the steep scarps of the Rift Valley, the peak elevation of which at the Mau summit reached 8,500 feet before continuing down to the Nando Valley, south of Nandi. The line was opened for traffic through Nairobi as far as Naivasha (55 miles beyond) in August 1899, and reached the shores of Lake Victoria in 1901, but work continued to Uganda and at various spots between as late as 1902.[262] The last miles of track were finally opened to traffic in September 1904. All told, after numerous loans and grants, the Uganda Railway cost the British taxpayer the enormous sum of £5,500,000, owing to the unexpectedly large costs of earthworks, bridges, the permanent way, stations and buildings, rolling stock, and the difficulties of transportation.[263]

The construction teams encountered many unforeseen difficulties, often caused by hasty preliminary surveying. The soft, red earth turned to quagmire after the rains, making it difficult to transport supplies and lay track. Many scarps were steeper than anticipated and required earth moving. The banks of rivers were prone to collapse, making it difficult to plan

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[261] Ibid, p. 36.

[262] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), pp. 216-17.

[263] Ibid, p. 196. Hill, the official historian, states the final capital cost was £5,502,592. The interest charged upon these loans ranged between 2.75% and 3%. The money was raised by the Treasury by the creation of annuities, which were finally discharged on 15 November 1925. When the last payment was made, counting interest, the Uganda Railway had cost the British taxpayer £7,909,294. See M.F. Hill, pp. 240-242. There are many difficulties of converting this figure to present values, but one currency converter, based on historical values, estimates that the value of £7,909,294 in 1925 was roughly equivalent to USD $587,165,000 in 2015. See Eric Nye, "Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency," <http://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.

and construct bridges. Other difficulties bordered on the absurd. When the first telegraph lines were being erected from Mombasa to the interior (vital to coordinate the construction of the railway), the lines and telegraph poles were erected at the standard height used in India and elsewhere in the empire, using supplies likewise produced in standard sizes. Those responsible for the telegraph line, many of whom lived far removed from East Africa, had no way of knowing that some African animals stood taller than the lines. Herds of giraffes passing through, usually at night, broke and dislodged the wires, cutting off telegraphic communications. A good deal of correspondence transpired between the departments of government, seeking a solution to this unusual problem. The head of the Telegraphic Department told the Game Warden that it was his responsibility to have the animals killed. The Game Warden replied that he had no intention of killing the animals, but suggested that the height of the lines should be raised, as he could not shorten the height of giraffes. The lines were soon raised to twenty feet.[264]

The construction of the Uganda Railway encountered some difficulties far more serious than gallivanting giraffes. In what became one of the most famous stories of the era, man-eating lions ravaged workers building the railway near the Tsavo River over a period of about nine months in 1898, killing as many as 135 people by the reckoning of Lt.-Col. John Henry Patterson, who took a leading role in killing the animals, although modern historians have cast doubt on the figure.[265] Patterson, an engineer in the Army, was commissioned to oversee the construction of a railway bridge over the Tsavo River. Almost as soon as he arrived in March 1898, lions began attacking his crew and accounted for many deaths. Patterson and the workers

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[264] The story is related by Donald Ker, *African Adventure* (Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1957), p. 161.

[265] Among the skeptics are Bruce D. Patterson, a scientist and co-director of the Tsavo Research Project, who uses DNA and other forensic evidence to estimate the scale of the slaughter and the causes of this unusual lion behavior. See Bruce D. Patterson, *The Lions of Tsavo: Exploring the Legacy of Africa's Notorious Man-Eaters* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004).

tried to repel the lions by building fires and *bomas* (thorn fences), and by hunting them. The measures proved inadequate and, after further attacks, most of the workers fled the site, halting construction of the bridge. Eventually, Patterson, along with several others, succeeded in hunting down and killing the two lions, and he later published a widely read account entitled *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo,* from which the lions derive their name.[266] The story has been the subject of numerous books, several scientific papers, and motion-picture films, most notably *Bwana Devil* (1952), and *The Ghost and the Darkness* (1996), starring Val Kilmer and Michael Douglas.

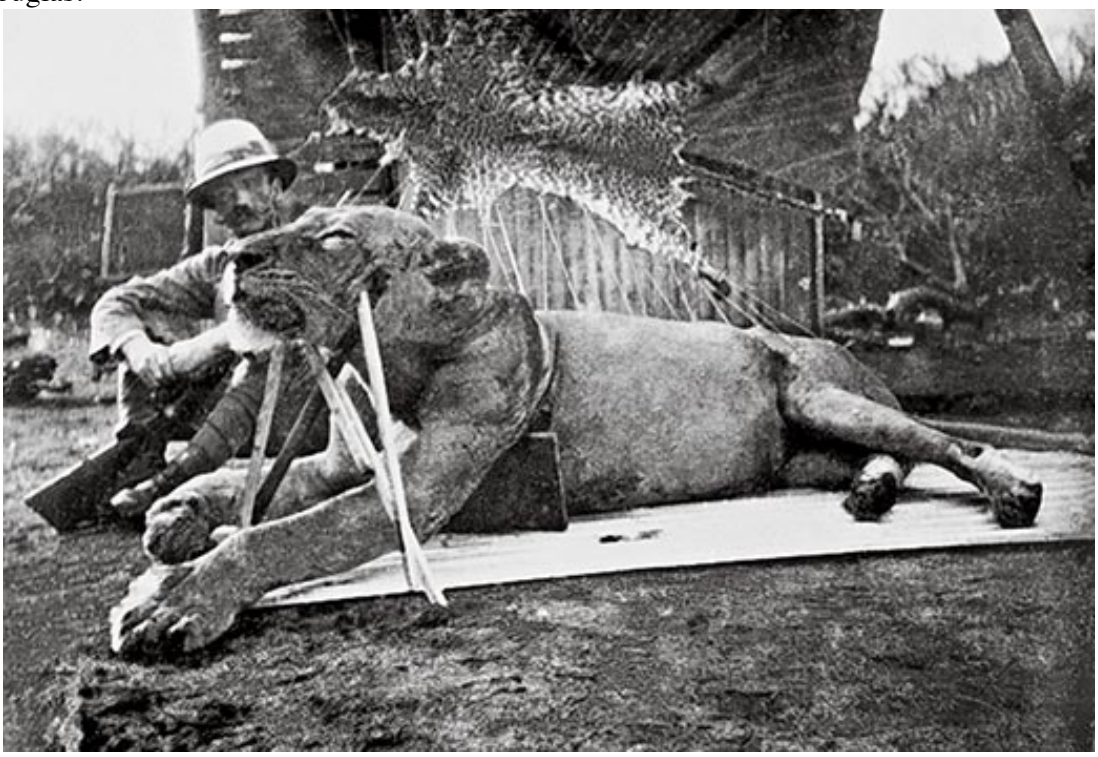

Illustration 13: Lt.-Col. John Henry Patterson poses with the first of the two man-eating lions killed near Tsavo.[267]

[266] Lt. Colonel J.H. Patterson, *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo* (London: Macmillan, 1907).

[267] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This photograph, now in the public domain, originally appeared in a publication of the Smithsonian Institution at < http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/Man-Eaters-of-Tsavo.html#>.

* * *

In Britain, the difficulties faced by the railway project were of a different order. Critics attacked the railway project for its extraordinary costs and questioned what, exactly, a railway through this undeveloped and unproven land would achieve. John Burns proclaimed, in the House of Commons, that the Uganda Railway was "one of the worst of the crazy Imperial schemes into which this country had been misled during the last seven or eight years."[268] Others argued that there had been much waste and extravagance in the construction of the line, which was partly true. The haste to reach the lake, and the fear of a German initiative that might forestall the British advance, resulted in building what amounted to two railways — the first a temporary line to press forward at good pace and to aid the transport of supplies, and the second the permanent line that cost much more than anticipated. Bridging, plate-laying, and the process of building and removing deviations all drove costs much higher than expected. Henry Labouchère's[269] magazine *Truth* mocked the scheme with a memorable rhyme from which the Uganda Railway derived its nickname as the "lunatic line":

> What it will cost, no words can express
>
> What is its object no brain can suppose
>
> Where it will start from no one can guess
>
> Where it is going to nobody knows
>
> What is the use of it none can conjecture
>
> What it will carry there's none to define
>
> And in spite of George Curzon's superior lectures

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[268] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 229.

[269] Henry Labouchère was an English Radical MP of well-known anti-imperialist views.

It clearly is nought but a lunatic line.[270]

The British government's main rationale for building the railway was to secure Uganda and the headwaters of the Nile, and to forestall imperial rivals, particularly the German presence in the territory that became Tanganyika, by annexing the strip of territory between the coast and Uganda. It was not anticipated that the region the railway traversed, the country we know today as Kenya, would become the more important territory, nor that the railway's existence in British East Africa would facilitate white settlement and tourist travel that made it one of Britain's most well known tropical colonies.

Indeed, it is hard to imagine any single event that played a greater role in the development of East Africa's tourism industry than the construction of the Uganda Railway. In the oft-used contemporary phrase, it "opened up" the country. Those infused with the mentalities of the imperial age saw the railway as a boon for the traveler and settler, a beacon of progress and civilization, and a great "ribbon of steel" that would facilitate the development of Britain's East African territories.[271] Winston Churchill captured the mentality when he described the railway as "a slender thread of scientific civilization, of order, authority, and arrangement, drawn across the primeval chaos of the world."[272] Churchill's imperialistic assessment made many questionable assumptions about the beneficent effects of the British Empire, but it was true nevertheless that the early introduction of modern transport technology across a newly acquired territory accelerated the material development of the country and played a major role in the success of the emerging safari tourism industry.

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[270] Quoted in Valerie Pakenham, *The Noonday Sun: Edwardians in the Tropics* (London: Methuen, 1985), p. 72.

[271] Abel Chapman described the railway as a "ribbon of steel" in Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 3. Such attitudes were expressed even by officials. John Ainsworth wrote in a colonial report, for example, that "the introduction of the Railway has had a most wonderful and civilizing effect on the country through it has passed, and to it the province undoubtedly owes a great deal of its present progressive condition." *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 12.

[272] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908, 1962), p. 6.

The line traversed over 600 miles from the eastern coast of Africa to the shores of Lake Victoria, and provided for the first time an easy means of traveling to the game-rich highlands of British East Africa. It utterly eclipsed all former methods of travel and made East Africa a viable tourist destination at a time when the tropics were still considered a source of danger and uncertainty, when tropical diseases had yet to be conquered, and when European knowledge of the region had barely existed for one generation. By offering an efficient form of transport for supplies and trade, the Uganda Railway also facilitated the settlement and development of the territory, contributing directly and indirectly to the growth of the safari industry and the myriad services upon which it relied. "Never perhaps has a railway been so prominent, and so completely dominated all surrounding interests," Charles Eliot wrote in 1905 following his term as Commissioner of the British East Africa Protectorate. "It is not an uncommon thing for a line to open up a country, but this line has literally created a country."[273]

Railways had, of course, long been central to the expansion of tourist travel. Thomas Cook, the founder and namesake of the famous travel company, predicated his early endeavors on the ability of railways to transport large numbers of people quickly and with minimal expense. "We must have railways for the millions," he declared in 1844, shortly after he pioneered the modern group tour.[274] Cook had actually conceived of his tourism enterprise while walking along the railway line between Harborough and Leicester on his way to a temperance meeting. What if railways could be used to ease the burdens of travel? And what if, as a result, greater numbers of people could be persuaded to join the temperance cause? Inspired by the idea of harnessing the power of railway travel for the benefit of mass participation in the temperance movement, Cook went to the stationmaster and proposed

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[273] Sir Charles Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), p. 208.
[274] Maxine Feifer, *Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present* (New York: Stein & Day, 1985), p. 168.

chartering a train to the next temperance meeting, to be offered at a reduced rate to a group of subscribers, who enjoyed the bonus of a guided journey with like-minded travelers. It was a resounding success, with some 570 people purchasing tickets. Cook later organized many more tours and eventually built his company into one of the world's largest and most famous touring companies, extending his tourist excursions to Palestine, Egypt, and elsewhere in Africa (including the Victoria Falls), but never gaining a firm foothold in the safari industry owing to the high levels of expertise and local knowledge required of safari guides and organizers. Virtually everywhere in the world where a tourism industry arose on any scale, railways played a key part, providing an efficient form of overland transit that would not be matched until the advent of the automobile and commercial flight.

The Uganda Railway was destined for a special degree of fame as a means of tourist locomotion because of the splendid game lands through which the traveller passed. The Uganda Railway Corporation used the appeal of big game to advertise its rail services. If travellers could be induced to purchase fares through the country, or to settle in this unique new land and began work as a farmer or trader, the resulting fares and freight charges would help make the railway pay. When the magazine *Punch* published a cartoon showing lions, elephants, hippos, and other animals advancing in a great throng toward the train, the Uganda Railway reprinted the image as an advertisement. British East Africa, the poster explained, was a "winter home for aristocrats," a "fashion" for "sportsmen in search of big game" and a great field for "students of natural history." The railway's observation cars, it concluded, "pass through the Greatest Natural Game Preserve in the World."

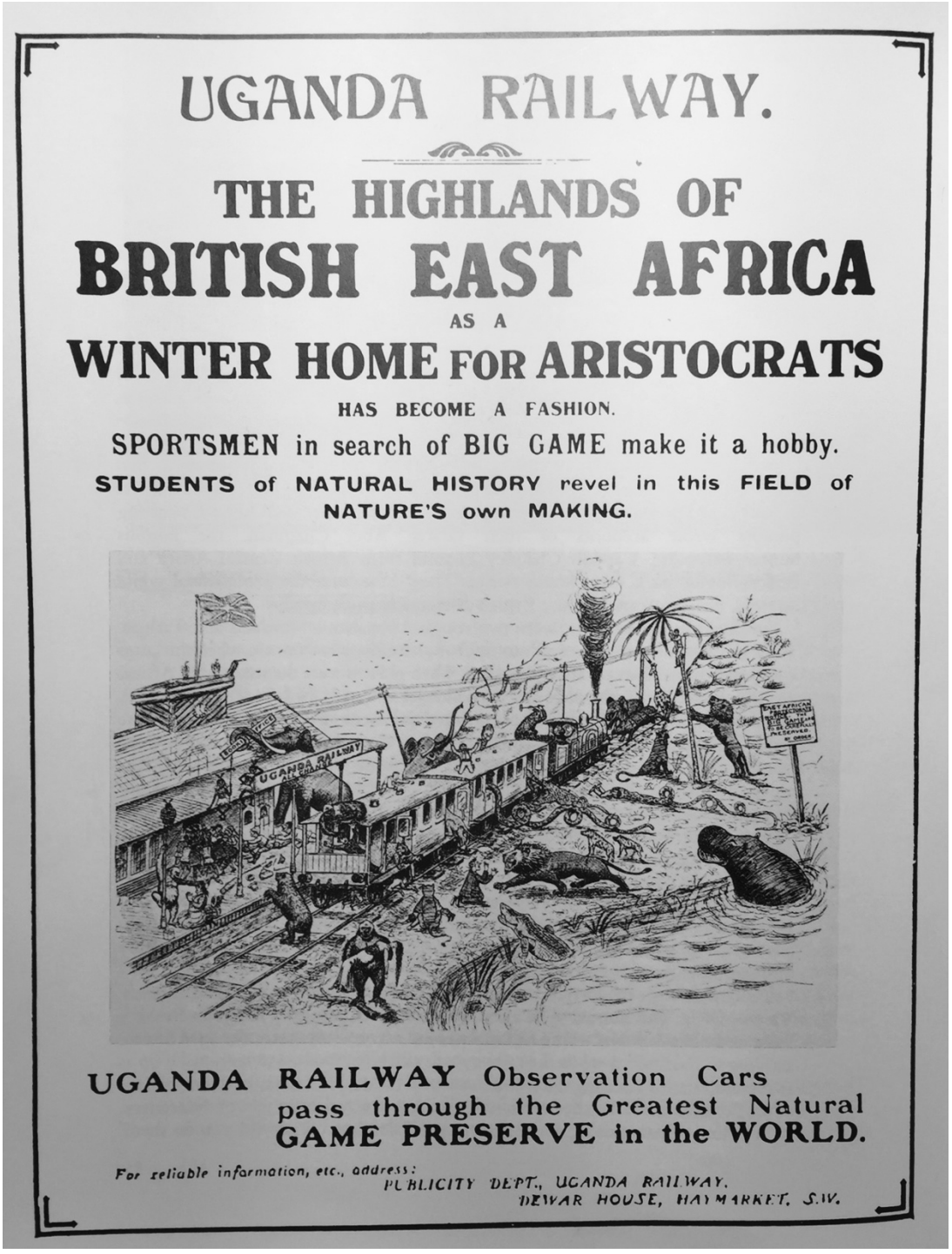

Illustration 14: Uganda Railway Advertisement, circa 1905.

The Uganda Railway's principal contribution to tourist travel in East Africa was to replace the slow and perilous caravan routes that had formerly offered the only access to the interior of the continent. In former times, in the absence of the railway, the only option available was to travel by foot along a single, winding, caravan track used mostly by expeditions in search of ivory and slaves. It stretched for 300 miles to Nairobi and required about a month of travel from the coast.[275] The remainder of the territory possessed only winding paths used by the local people, most of them about two feet wide. Those used infrequently were quickly overgrown by vegetation. Expeditions had to employ African porters or take their chances with load-bearing animals. Neither option was entirely satisfactory. The dreaded tsetse fly, the vector for African *trypanosomiasis* (in animals), or "sleeping sickness" (in humans), affected oxen and horses, making animal transport infeasible except on a minor scale. Three lots of camels that had been brought from India in the 1890s quickly died. The horses of the 24th Baluchistan Regiment died within two months of arrival. Wagons could not be used between Mazeras and Kibwezi owing to the tsetse fly. Only donkeys and mules offered the right balance of usefulness and hardiness, but they were difficult to find, frustrating to employ on any large scale, and very expensive in East Africa.[276]

African porters, on the other hand, were sometimes reluctant to sign on for work carrying sixty pounds in weight for nearly fifteen miles each day on a round-trip journey that took two months to complete and presented numerous hazards to health and life. Safari parties inevitably faced shortages of porters, and the government often proved unable to obtain porters in Nairobi during certain seasons particularly favored by shooting parties because large numbers of visiting sportsmen had already snapped them up. In 1897, the Government

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[275] The length of the journey and a number of other details in this discussion are provided in C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 5.

[276] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 156.

Transport Department estimated that there were only about 1,100 regular and professional porters based in Mombasa, and many of these were located somewhere along the route, in the interiors of East Africa and Uganda.[277] Once on safari, porters were difficult to feed and supply, and sometimes caused disciplinary problems. The official historian of the Uganda Railway remarks that "the building of the railway involved a problem equivalent to the supply of a division of soldiers in a practically waterless country, devoid of resources and of all means of animal and wheel transport."[278] Without the internal combustion engine, modern lorries, and the road-making machinery to simplify the task, only human transport existed until the railway was complete.

Part of the difficulty of the journey arose from the character of the land between the coast and the highlands. On the second or third day out of Mombasa, the caravan would exit the hilly, green, fertile country near the coast and enter the parched Taru desert, which stretched for 37 miles, featured a neglected narrow path overgrown with thorn bushes, and wandered along a circuitous route that was much longer than it needed to be.[279] The next 55 miles to Maungu featured little more than scrub trees and dust and was almost completely devoid of water. Caravans had to carry water with them or perish, for the few waterholes that existed were typically either dry or fetid. Porters frequently collapsed from physical exhaustion, spilling their loads on the ground and forcing the caravan to a halt. When this happened, regardless the contents of the load, the exhausted porter was either revived with whatever water and supplies were available, or dismissed from the expedition, his load divided among other porters – a practice not always welcomed by those forced to carry more weight on tired legs, although the exhausted man's wages were split between them.

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[277] Ibid, p. 156.
[278] Ibid, p. 159.
[279] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 97.

Surviving the strains of heat, thirst, and physical exhaustion solved only half the problem. Some men quite rightly harbored greater fears of the other dangers present in East Africa. Most wild animals would avoid the sight and sound of the caravan marching across the plains, but some caused trouble. Rhinoceros were notorious for charging the expedition and scattering men and supplies in all directions. Lions were especially feared, particularly after nightfall, and few needed to be reminded of the ravages of the man-eaters of Tsavo. Some expeditions deterred animals from entering their camps at night by constructing thorn fences from brush *bomas*, a practice that typically consumed the entire evening following a long day on the trail. Although thorn fence was not, by itself, strong enough to stop animals weighing in excess of 500 pounds, they proved effective in most cases because animals will not enter into, or jump over, any obstacle unless they can see what lies on the other side. Disease often struck as well, invaliding men home and taking lives that were already weakened by the physical strain of travel. The most common diseases were malaria and sleeping sickness. Other illnesses were contracted by drinking contaminated water or eating rotten flesh. Finally, of course, there was the task of providing food, usually *posho* (maize meal), for so many hard-laboring men. "A safari, like an army, marches on its stomach," wrote Blayney Percival, the Senior Assistant Game Ranger of British East Africa. "With porters one can go barely more than ten or twelve days from the food base."[280]

The physical strain of the journey, the dangers of heat and thirst, and the potential for disease, violence, and desertion made the caravan route an exceedingly unwelcome part of any visit to the interior of East Africa prior to the building of the railways. Indeed, the perils of caravan travel across what became British East Africa had nearly killed many of the great explorers only a generation before, and this land, in their accounts, featured only as the

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[280] A. Blayney Percival, *A Game Ranger's Notebook,* Edited by E.D. Cuming (New York: George H. Doran, 1924), p. 338.

unforgiving stretch of trail that they were required to traverse. Although the problems of human porterage and caravan travel did not yet entirely disappear in the early decades of the century, the Uganda Railway provided considerable relief by eliminating the need to traverse the longest, most difficult section of the trail, henceforth confining foot travel to the cool, pleasant, relatively disease-free highland game areas where the actual hunting and game-viewing took place at a relatively more leisurely pace. One colonial official, despite his nostalgia for the old methods of travel, summed up the prevailing mentality about the benefits the railway brought to the traveler:

> To men who traversed the country on foot in the old days, the railway still has something of the wonderful about it. There is a certain charm about caravan life, and many of us still retain some pleasing memories of our old 'safari' days; but, after all, one or two journeys on foot over the waterless Taro Plain took something of the charm away, and the memory of such marches made one appreciate to the full the advantages and luxury of traveling in a railway carriage over the same ground that one had tramped over in days gone by… I think I am approximately right that one hour on the railway represents one day of caravan marching.[281]

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The terminal destination for most tourists aboard the Uganda Railway was Nairobi, which became the leading city of the region, the hub of the safari industry, and, after 1907, the capital of British East Africa.[282] Travelers arriving in Nairobi under contract with Newland and Tarlton were met at the rail station by one of the company's agents and taken directly to the Norfolk Hotel or another reputable local establishment, where their personal servants and other members of the safari staff attended to their needs and helped make preparations for the coming expedition. Here, in the heart of East Africa, in a place that had been virtually unknown to Europeans a generation before, visitors could find all the amenities associated with the wealth and privilege to which they were accustomed. Nairobi boasted clubs, a gymkhana

[281] Author Unknown, *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 13.
[282] *Official Gazette of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates,* 15 May 1907.

(sports club), a well-appointed race course, luxury hotels, cricket and polo fields, and golf courses, all beautifully kept and frequented by white settlers. A masonic hall was under construction. Outfitters and shops sold goods of all kinds. Handsome houses and bungalows in the hills on the outskirts of the city served as retreats for the upper classes and gave the sense of being aloof from the bustling tin-shanty city below. Visitors in Nairobi could sometimes hear roaring lions in the distance. The juxtaposition of wild Africa with a burgeoning center of civilization proved to be a great attraction to visitors, stirring them with glimpses of wild places but maintaining a degree of luxury that satisfied all but the most demanding tourist.

Nairobi, like the Uganda Railway that helped create it, played an important role in the emergence and development of the safari tourism industry. By a twist of fate, the city lay at the center of a vast web of ancient overland routes that stretched in all directions to some of the best game lands in the world. It lies adjacent to the eastern edge of the Rift Valley on the edge of the game-rich Athi Plains. The Ngong Hills lie to the west and the Karura Forest to the north. Several rivers, including the Nairobi River, ensured a good water supply. A game reserve on the edge of town, today known as the Nairobi National Park, ensured that Africa's wildest scenes of game remained on the doorstep of this bustling new city. The combination of Nairobi's favorable geographical position, its pleasant and disease-free climate, the benefits of the Uganda Railway, and the subsequent development of the region created a set of conditions under which the safari tourism industry could prosper. The city became the undisputed capital of the industry and the main staging point for virtually all travelers to East Africa.

Nairobi originated at the end of the nineteenth century as a supply station and repair yard for the construction of the railway, located on a broad and swampy area at the edge of the Athi Plains, just past the old caravan stop at Ngong. When R.O. Preston arrived in the area in 1897 to form an advance camp for the railway consisting of tents and a few corrugated iron

shacks, he described the area as "a bleak and swampy stretch of soppy landscape, devoid of human habitation of any sort, the resort of thousands of wild animals."[283] The railway engineers called the place by its Maasai name, Nairobi, meaning "cool water." By the time the railhead reached the area on May 30, 1899, the settlement consisted of no more than a few houses, clustered around the railhead and constructed of wood slats and corrugated iron, often raised on stilts to protect against the ravages of white ants and wet weather. The center of the town was occupied by a small railway station that met train arrivals twice each week.

The growth of Nairobi from a largely uninhabited swamp to a cosmopolitan city and the future capital of Kenya was intimately connected with the railway. Stewart Edward White famously wrote: "Whether the funny little narrow-gauge railroad exists for Nairobi, or Nairobi for the railroad, it would be difficult to say."[284] The headquarters of the railway moved from Mombasa to Nairobi in July 1899, bringing with it a large expansion of population and all the bustling activity that accompanied a railhead in a newly settled country. By August, the line to Nairobi was opened to the public.[285] The city quickly became the main staging post for the white highlands of Kenya and a center of economic activity. The city's population boomed during the main phase of railway construction around the turn of the century, swelling from the influx of not only Indian and African laborers, but also the shopkeepers and entrepreneurs who followed the labor camps with their businesses. Sir Charles Eliot reported in 1901 that the population of Nairobi had reached about 8,000 inhabitants, while "other centres are springing up both in this protectorate and in Uganda."[286] By 1905, as the railway construction

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[283] Quoted in C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 38.
[284] Stewart Edward White, *African Camp Fires* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1913), p. 113.
[285] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 191.
[286] Ibid, p. 222.

was winding down, the population of Nairobi had leveled off to between 4,000 and 5,000 permanent residents.[287]

The rapid pace of growth and the difficulty of obtaining building supplies gave the city an improvised quality that was remarked upon by many visitors to the city. The visual aspect of the town in its days as the railhead suggested the characteristics of a frontier boom-town, "distinctly reminiscent of the Wild West," Donald Ker wrote.[288] Many of the buildings were constructed of corrugated iron, which locals referred to casually as "tin." "Nairobi," wrote Philip Percival, a prominent professional hunter and brother of the Chief Game Warden, "was pretty much of a tin town when I arrived in September 1905, the great majority of buildings being made of wood and iron on piles."[289] Even as late as 1910 G.H. Anderson considered Nairobi to be "very much in the pioneering stage; mostly tin shacks, with very few stone buildings."[290] Percy Madeira, a Philadelphia industrialist, found Nairobi "far from being a beautiful town."[291]

Others found the town ruggedly handsome, even charming. The tin-shanty characteristics of the city did not detract from the pride that contemporary inhabitants and visitors took in the pleasing aspects of the city. An official colonial report boasted of imperial progress when it wrote in 1905 that "to-day the town consists of several substantial buildings, large railway workshops, public markets and slaughter-house, town hall, hotels, civil hospitals, and a church. It has about 14 miles of roads, some of them flourishing avenues, public gardens,

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[287] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 12.
[288] Donald I. Ker, *African Adventure* (Harrisburg, PA: The Telegraph Press, 1957), p. 2. Ker went on to found Ker & Downey, Ltd., a leading safari firm in Kenya after 1945 that specialized in photographic safaris.
[289] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Reprint: Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 1.
[290] Major G.H. Anderson, M.C. *African Safaris* (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 25.
[291] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 36.

a fairly satisfactory system of surface drainage, and a most excellent water supply."[292] The town also had official residential quarters, accommodation for railway staff, railway workshops, government offices, a jail, European trading quarters, and the Indian bazaar. It is noteworthy that the "most up-to-date structure of its kind in East Africa" in 1905 was the Jeevanjee market, which occupied a central position in the town.[293] The boundaries of Nairobi by 1906 stretched ten miles in circumference and contained 108 business premises and 244 dwelling houses for Europeans, in addition to numerous other buildings inhabited and used by the indigenous and Indian populations.[294]

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Nairobi had a long, wide main thoroughfare fringed with trees, where most activity was concentrated. Along the road stood several impressive stone buildings, including the Bank of India and a few hotels and business houses. Interspersed among them were many one-story buildings constructed of corrugated iron, where merchants and shopkeepers — Indian, Goan, European, and African — sold every variety of good. The streets were constantly filled with traffic: rickshaws, pedestrians, horsemen, bullock carts, a few automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles. "The aspect of the town suggests the activity of a new frontier place where everybody is busy," John McCutcheon wrote in 1910.[295] The first automobile was brought to Nairobi in 1902 by Major George Edward Smith, part of the crew building Sclater's Road. As the number of imported cars increased, two garages opened in Nairobi in 1911 and 1912 to undertake the needed repairs.[296]

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[292] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 11.
[293] Ibid, p. 12.
[294] C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 89.
[295] John McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1910), p. 46.
[296] C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 88.

Wherever the Englishman went in those days, clubs soon followed. East Africa's first club, the Mombasa Club, was formed in 1896-97. The Nairobi Club was founded in 1899 for mainly "first class" white officials of the territory, while the Railway Institute, founded in 1900, became the preferred club of white employees of the railway company. Both constructed new buildings of stone in 1915. Lower officials enjoyed their own club called the Parklands, which held dances and entertainments and offered tennis and cricket facilities. The settlers initially founded the Traveller's Club on Government Road, opposite the Stanley Hotel, but it was soon surpassed by the famous Muthaiga Club, which opened its doors on New Year's Eve of 1913.[297] The East Africa Turf Club, which held three race meetings a year, was founded in 1912 for the horse-racing community that had been a fixture in East Africa since before the turn of the century. The mostly upper-class clientele that patronized these many clubs enjoyed tennis, polo, cricket, and racing, but many also relished big-game hunting, providing a social atmosphere to the colony that proved to be a considerable attraction to visiting sportsmen and tourists.

Nairobi's hotels, though left behind once the tourists ventured into the bush, nevertheless provided an essential element in the development of the safari industry by offering comfortable accommodations while the final preparations of the safari were made. The first known hotel in Nairobi was called Wood's Hotel, or Victoria Hotel, established in Nairobi in 1902.[298] It was located on the upper floor of a general store, run by Tommy Wood and May Bent, in the midst of several corrugated iron buildings on a dusty, unpaved Victoria Street. The following year, 1903, Dan Noble, the Post Master, built a bungalow next to Wood's, opening a new hotel run by May Bent known as the Stanley Hotel.[299] In 1904 it was taken over by

[297] Ibid, pp. 92-93.
[298] Ibid, p. 39.
[299] Ibid, pp. 39-40.

Major J.A. Rayne, a New Zealander working for Boustead Ridley in Mombasa, who renamed it the Masonic Hotel and began outfitting safaris.[300]

Illustration 15: The original Stanley Hotel in Nairobi, c. 1903, soon renamed the Masonic Hotel, outfitted early safaris.[301]

After a fire in Nairobi in 1905, May Bent re-established the Stanley Hotel, this time on the upper floor of a stone building on Government Road. She built another hotel in 1911 on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Hardinge Street, financed by the farmer W.E.D. Knight, which became known as the New Stanley Hotel and would stand for many years as one of the most reputable establishments in the territory.[302] The Grand Hotel in Nairobi joined the city's

[300] Ibid, p. 94. See also the Masonic Hotel advertisement, listed by J.A. Rayne & Co. Proprietors, in *The African Standard,* 18 March 1905, p. 11.
[301] Source: Wikimedia Commons.
[302] Ibid, p. 95. See also *The Times of East Africa,* 16 December 1905.

accommodations in 1906 as another "solidly built structure" offering bathrooms, a "cosy ladies' sitting room," and spacious rooms.[303] Travelers could also opt for a less well-known option, such as the Empress Temperance Hotel, opposite Nairobi's Town Hall[304], or the Commercial Hotel on Government Road, which indicated an "old friend in the proprietor" for visitors from South Africa and Rhodesia.[305] Smart's Hotel in Victoria Street was located near the post office and railway station.[306] By 1912 these offerings were joined by the Hotel Metropole and the Clairmont House, both claiming to serve the needs of the tourist and settler.[307]

Perhaps the most famous of Nairobi's early hotels was the Norfolk Hotel, opened by Major C.G.R. Ringer in 1904.[308] The Norfolk was a country-style manor in the heart of town, then unique in East Africa for boasting stone construction and a tile roof, good stabling, hot and cold baths, a billiard room, a French chef formerly employed by the Waldorf Astoria in New York, and moderate rates. It contained 34 rooms, two cottages for married couples, a dining room to seat up to 100 people, a small private dining room, a sitting room, and a large bar. Within a few years it would get an expanded double-story wing. An advertisement in 1905 claimed it was "the only stone-built and tile-roofed hotel in British East Africa," and added that the Norfolk stores were "direct importers of everything necessary for the Sportsman, Traveller, and Settler."[309] By 1908 the Norfolk was advertising itself as "The Fashionable Rendez-vous [sic] of the Big Game Shooter and Tourist" and was newly wired with electricity throughout.[310] John McCutcheon wrote of the hotel in 1910:

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303 *The Times of East Africa,* 10 February 1906, p. 6.
304 *The Times of East Africa,* 24 February 1906.
305 *The Times of East Africa,* 20 January 1906.
306 *The Times of East Africa,* 15 September 1906.
307 *The East African Standard,* 28 September 1912.
308 Jan Hemsing, *Then and Now: Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel* (Nairobi, 1975), p. 1.
309 *The Times of East Africa,* 16 December 1905, p. 1.
310 *The East African Standard,* 29 August 1908, p. 10.

The Norfolk Hotel is the chief rendezvous of Nairobi. In the course of the afternoon nearly all the white men on hunting bent show up at the hotel and patronize the bar. They come in wonderful hunting regalia and in all the wonderful splendor of the Britisher when he is afield. There is nearly always a great coming and going, of men riding up, and of rickshaws arriving and departing. Usually, several tired sportsmen are stretched out on the veranda of the long one-storied building, reading the ancient London papers that are lying about. Professional guides, arrayed in picturesque Buffalo Bill outfits, with spurs and hunting knives and slouch hats, are among those present, and amateur sportsmen in crisp khaki and sun helmets and new puttees swagger back and forth to the bar."[311]

[311] John T. McCutcheon, "With McCutcheon in Africa: Seeing Nairobi," *Dallas Morning News* (30 January 1910), p. 2.

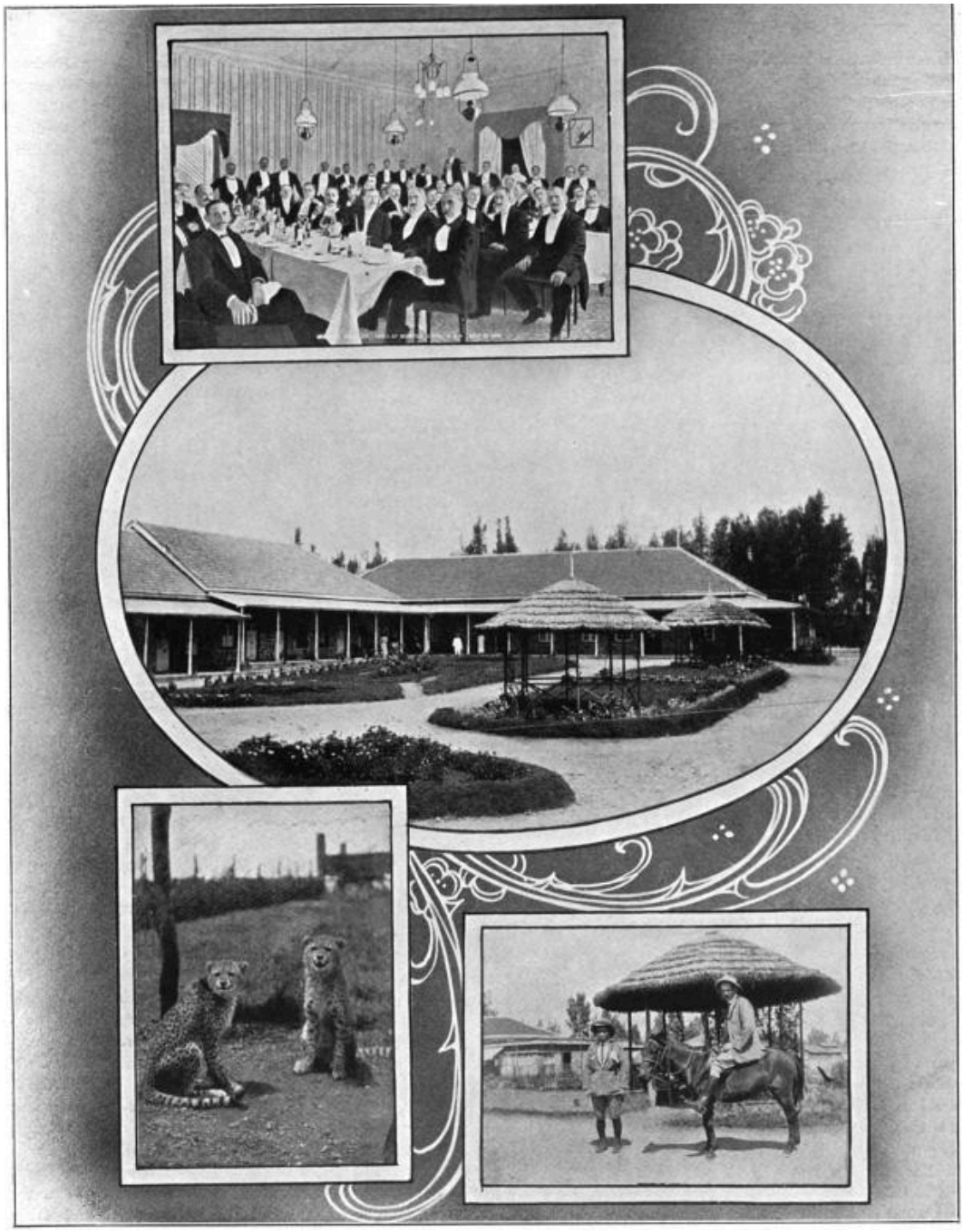

Illustration 16: Views of the Norfolk Hotel, c. 1908.[312]

[312] Somerset Playne and Frank Holderness Gale, ed., *East Africa (British): Its History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., 1908-09).

The Norfolk, like most leading hotels in Nairobi, drew a substantial part of its clientele from the wealthier elements of the white settler community, but billed itself primarily as a retreat for sportsmen and wealthy visitors. An advertisement listed in *Globe Trotter* in 1906 described the Norfolk as "the true home of the big game shooter… and many others of the World's Finest Sportsmen." Over the years hotel counted among its guests many famous personages, including Neville Chamberlain and his wife, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Princess Patricia, Winston Churchill, Theodore Roosevelt and his son Kermit, the Prince of Wales (King Edward VIII), and numerous Counts, Barons, and European princes.[313] It was also frequented by Robert Baden-Powell, founder and leader of the World Scout and Guide Movements, who was to spend his last days nearby in Paxtu, Kenya. Among professional hunters, patronage of the Norfolk was practically *de rigueur* from the hotel's earliest years. Frederick Selous, Frederick Jackson, W.D.M. Bell, Major Hugh Chauncey Stigand, Jim Sutherland, R.J. Cunninghame, G.H. "Andy" Anderson, the Hill cousins, Paul Rainey, Fritz Schindelar, Arthur Hoey, Denys Finch Hatton, Philip Percival, and many others of global reputation regularly darkened its doors. "Almost all used Major Ringer's Norfolk Hotel as the spring-board for their safaris," Hemsing writes, "and it was outside the Norfolk that porters, pack animals, guides, cooks, and huge retinues gathered which comprised a safari in those days."[314]

The hotel attracted primarily British and English-speaking visitors but included Europeans from the continent as well, particularly aristocrats. Stewart Edward White described the stone verandah of the Norfolk as a "very interesting place" owing to the character

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[313] Jan Hemsing, *Then and Now: Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel* (1975), pp. 10, 43.
[314] Ibid, p. 12.

of its guests. Jan Hemsing, author of a history of the Norfolk, described the hotel's guest book as resembling "a condensed *Burke's Peerage, Almanack de Gotha,* and *Social Register*."[315]

> Here gather men from all parts of East Africa, from Uganda, and the jungles of the Upper Congo. At one time or another all the famous hunters drop into its canvas chairs — Cuninghame [sic], Allan Black, Judd, Outram, Hoey, and the others; white traders with the natives of distant lands; owners of farms experimenting bravely on a greater or lesser scale in a land whose difficulties are just beginning to be understood; great naturalists and scientists from the governments of the earth, eager to observe and collect in this interesting and teeming fauna; and sportsmen just out and full of interest or just returned and modestly important. More absorbing conversation can be listened to on this veranda than in any other one place in the world. The gathering is cosmopolitan; it is representative of the most active of every social, political, and racial element; it has done things; it contemplates vital problems from the vantage ground of experience. The talk veers from pole to pole – and returns always to lions.[316]

A few reputable hotels opened outside Nairobi and advertised themselves to tourists. Some of these establishments were modest to a fault, but others offered a welcome resting place away from the city for tourists and sportsmen as well as settlers. The Rift Valley Hotel opened in 1905 under new management only half a mile from the railway station near Lake Naivasha and cast itself as "the health resort of B.E. Africa."[317] To the northeast of Nairobi near Thika was the Blue Posts Hotel managed by F.J. Jordan.[318] Here, only 29 miles from Nairobi, the traveler could enjoy the magnificent Chania Falls only 100 yards from the door of what the proprietor described as "an English home in the heart of Africa." Like most hotels catering to tourists before the war, the Blue Posts offered electric light throughout, excellent cuisine and liquors, and guides for shooting parties. At Nakuru, where flamingoes and other birds could be observed in their thousands, visitors could stay at the Lake View Hotel, managed

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[315] Ibid, p. 12.
[316] Stewart Edward White, *African Camp Fires* (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page, 1913), pp. 121-22.
[317] C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 38.
[318] *The East African Standard,* 28 September 1912, p. 16.

by George Outram and his wife.[319] It is probable that this is the same hotel mentioned favorably by Percy Madeira when he passed through the town in 1907. "At Nakaru," Madeira wrote, "we found the best hotel that we had seen in Africa. It was constructed of stone, was well finished throughout, and had a most excellent cuisine, all entirely due to the energy and public spirit of Lord Delamere, who has a large ranch and a timber reserve nearby."[320]

* * *

While tourists enjoyed their first few days in Nairobi and recovered from their long travels, the safari company worked assiduously to prepare for the departure from civilization. The labor and organization of a tourist safari depended upon social arrangements that had been adapted from Arab and African caravans and developed over the years by explorers, administrators, and sportsmen who traveled cross-country in East Africa. Enlisting the indigenous labor needed to make the safari a success remained one of the most important tasks and had barely changed since the nineteenth century. Each expedition was directed by a native headman, whose job required him to direct the employees of the caravan and ensure discipline among the crew. Headmen were usually paid at the rate of 75 rupees per month (about £5, or UDS $25).[321] Next came the gun-bearers, who accompanied all shooting tourists, carried their guns and other hunting gear when not in use, and assisted in whatever manner necessary during the course of a hunt. Many expeditions employed two gun-bearers per shooter, the first to handle important tasks, such as reloading rifles and remaining always by the sportsman's side, and the second, usually a less experienced individual selected from among the porters, to help carry miscellaneous supplies. These jobs paid between 40 and 75 rupees per month before the

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[319] *The East African Standard,* 28 September 1912, p. 16.
[320] Percy Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott, 1909), p. 256.
[321] A rupee was worth about $0.33 U.S. dollars at the time. Fifteen rupees equaled one pound sterling. Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 20. The rate of pay is confirmed by John McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1910), p. 72.

First World War and were considered the most prestigious native employment on safari, behind only the headman.

C. G. Schillings, phot.

THE PICK OF MY ASKARIS, IN CHARGE OF OUR FLAG

Illustration 17: The askaris employed by Carl Schillings, 1905.[322]

Third on the social scale were the askaris, or armed guards, many of them soldiers of the King's African Rifles, who were entrusted with protecting the expedition from wild animals and other enemies as well as preventing desertion by porters. Headmen, gun-bearers, and askaris usually spoke English to some extent and became professionals in their own right, working in the safari industry consistently throughout their lives. Beneath them labored a much larger contingent of workers who transported supplies and ensured that camp life reached the

[322] C.G. (Carl George) Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* [or, *With Flashlight and Rifle*] (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1905).

necessary standard of comfort for the tourists. Many tourists and guides remarked that the most important employee in camp was the cook, upon whose skill and resourcefulness the happiness of the entire safari depended. He had to feed the tourist at a standard that could rival the world's finest establishments, but also to fill the stomachs of the expedition's indigenous employees using limited supplies and a sometimes improvised menu. Below the cook came the personal attendants, or "tent boys," who took care of the tourist's tent, bedding, bath, clothes, and all personal items, in addition to waiting tables, bringing tea and water, and cleaning.[323]

The largest contingent of safari workers (at least before the First World War) were porters, who transported all the equipment and camp provisions from place to place in loads of sixty pounds carried on the head.[324] "Out of the range of steam," Winston Churchill wrote, "the porter is the primary factor. This ragged figure, tottering along under his load, is the unit of locomotion and the limit of possibility. Without porters you cannot move."[325] European travelers often created taxonomies of porters (and other safari workers, too), ranked according to their perceived value. Swahili porters, considered the best, were paid ten rupees per month. Men of "inferior tribes," as one traveler put it, "such as the Kikuyu, who are not so strong and can carry but forty pounds," were paid a mere four rupees per month.[326] Safaris typically employed about thirty to forty porters per tourist-hunter, but the number varied and depended largely on the scale of the hunt and the number of trophies sent back to Nairobi. A few other workers found their way into the party. Young boys would often follow a safari unofficially,

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[323] Ibid, p. 71.

[324] Though it deals with a slightly earlier period, the authoritative study of porterage in East Africa is Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2006).

[325] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908, 1962), p. 88.

[326] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 20.

"just for the fun and the food," McCutcheon wrote.[327] They accompanied the caravan rather like stowaways, keeping a low profile in the early stages of the journey, until finally the safari was far enough from the towns that they could not be sent back and were made members of the party. The boys typically helped by carrying small loads, assisting the cook as a *totos* ("little boys" in Swahili) or sub-porters, or becoming a *sais,* a groom for the mules and other animals.[328]

Visitors to East Africa preparing a safari benefited from several conditions that made it possible to find and employ reliable, experienced porters. The institution of human porterage had long existed in East Africa as the principal means of transport between the coast and the interior, connected with the region's export of ivory and slaves, the overland exchange of lesser goods in the interior, and, later, the extended caravan journeys made by European explorers. The large number of caravans to the interior, particularly in the nineteenth century, and the strict discipline required of its members, helped gradually to build up a reserve of men familiar with the task and its unique demands. Thus, when the slave trade was outlawed following the British arrival in the 1890s, and when ivory hunting was limited by the game regulations shortly thereafter, these porters became available for other purposes. Second, the British administration, realizing the importance of porterage for their imperial projects and trade, established certain rules (including the 60-pound limit) in an attempt to maintain or even increase the supply by making the occupation tolerable. At the same time, the government's imposition of taxes, its schemes to enlist labor on European farms, and the general economic revolution that accompanied the arrival of colonial rule, helped push indigenous Africans into wage labor positions. Many Africans, having been trained in the occupation, preferred a life

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[327] John McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1910), p. 71.
[328] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 20.

on the trail, despite its hardships and perils, over the new and unpleasant kind of work on European farms that often represented the only alternative occupation.

On the day of departure from Nairobi, all of the packages shipped from abroad and obtained in Nairobi were laid outside the outfitter's office. These loads were all shapes and sizes, but had to be carefully weighed to avoid exceeding 60 pounds, which was the maximum weight that any porter was permitted by the regulations to carry.[329] The outfit spread out in a long line, each porter placed in a single file alongside the package to which he was assigned. When the expedition was ready to begin marching, the headman blew a whistle, the porters lifted their loads onto their heads, and the safari set off at a fast walk in a single file line. "It was a strangely moving sight," Philip Percival wrote, recalling his early days on safari with Theodore Roosevelt and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. "There was a great feeling of pride and of combined effort about a safari," and the African employees often "entered into the spirit of the game" and raised a flag at the front of the line.[330]

[329] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 66.
[330] Ibid, p. 66.

Illustration 18: Human porters were the backbone of early safaris.[331]

Most safaris marched at an average of about two or three miles per hour, and usually covered about 15 miles per day en route to the hunting lands. Clients were sometimes given riding mules, which were preferred over horses because they were easier to feed and more resistant to *trypanosomiasis*, the disease carried by the tsetse fly. Most tourists and guides wore thin khaki clothing in the daytime and warmer clothes for the cool night air, including wool socks and woolen under garments, to keep the hunter comfortable at higher elevations when temperatures dipped nearly to freezing. Experienced hunters recommended shirts and jackets made only with left breast pockets to prevent the butt of the rifle from snagging when the hunter raised it to his right shoulder.[332] Many also followed the standard practice of the age of wearing pith helmets, "sun pads" (heavy quilted strips of cloth down their spines), and heavy close-woven clothing to protect their bodies from the "actinic rays" of the tropical sun (an early

[331] John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1910).
[332] Clive Philipps-Wolley, et al., *Big Game Shooting,* Vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, 1894, 1901), p. 158.

term used to describe ultraviolent rays). When the sun sat low in the sky, many travelers substituted a double terai felt hat, which was considered more comfortable.[333]

Days on safari began early. The equatorial sun rises quickly between 6:15 and 6:30 AM and sets just as fast almost exactly twelve hours later. Abel Chapman thought that "the whole joy and glory of the tropical day are confined to its earlier hours."[334] Travelers would wake every morning to the sound of singing birds, the intermittent chop of a distant axe, the crackling of fires and soft murmur of sleepy voices, and finally the tent boy, entering cautiously, to announce that hot tea was served. Breakfast was often prepared by candlelight before sunrise, consisting usually of cereal, tea or coffee, bacon, eggs, bread, and jam. Margery Perham, an Oxford historian of Africa, wrote of the "intense charm" of safari travel after experiencing one herself:

> There are the hushed, sleepy voices at the dawn start; the precious dewy coolness before the sun reaches its height and begins to hurt; the sudden halt over the fresh spoor or dung of big game on the track; the glorious nights when limbs relax round a huge resinous burning log whose flames, a protection from prowling carnivores, shoot up towards a sky of stars of a number and brightness unknown in our dull north.[335]

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[333] Philip Percival's wife, making a speech in 1955, recalled: "Tropical outfitters in London (we used Lawn and Alder) encouraged the purchase of an outfit which was supposed to be suitable for Africa — heavy close-woven materials, some even with a red thread interwoven, which kept out all the air, spine pads fitted to all shirts and coats, and either Hawke's helmets, solar toupees, or double tears with huge brims were considered to be the only headgear which was safe and could protect from the actinic rays of the sun. So we shrouded ourselves in these garments for many years, our children wearing hats with extra sun curtains made of red twill, and I think Dr. Burkitt would think we were all mad if he saw the hatless heads in Kenya today." Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 105.

[334] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 112.

[335] Margery Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Adventure, 1858-1898* (London: Collins, 1956), p. 200.

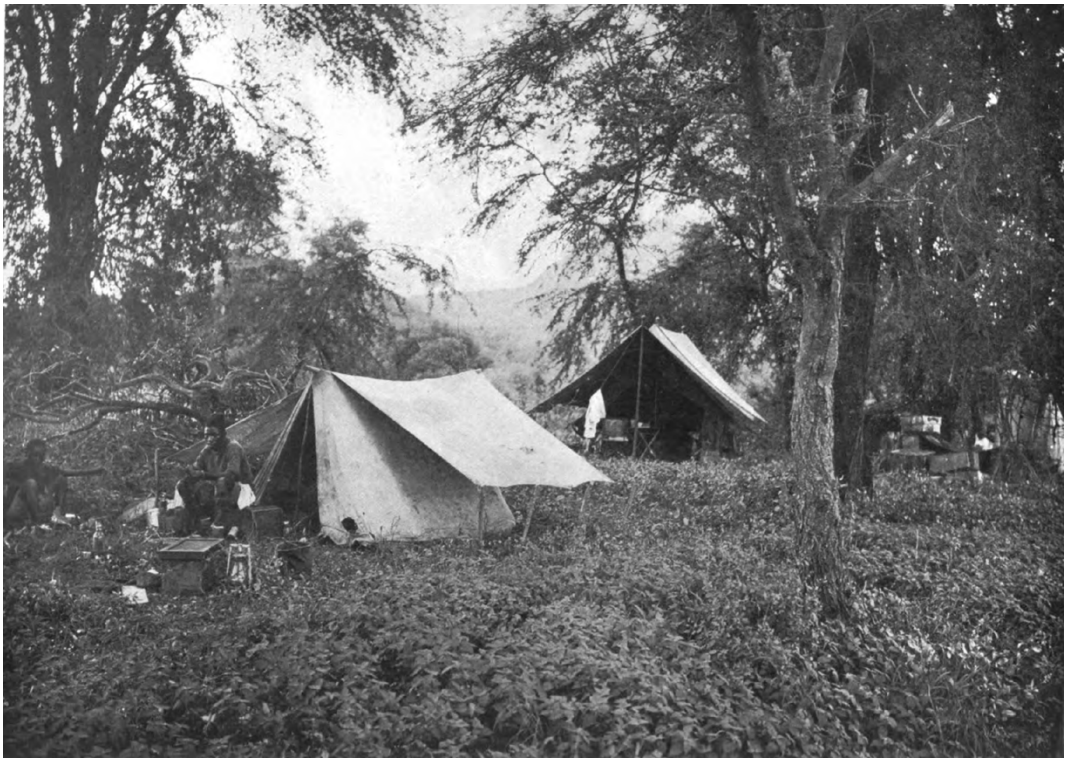

Illustration 19: A typical safari camp.[336]

Camp life and travel was part of the appeal and rarely too strenuous for the tourist. Caravans usually marched for only half the day before pitching camp in a new location. Many travelers found the travel invigorating. "For the formation of opinion," Winston Churchill wrote, "for the stirring and enlivenment of thought, and the discernment of color and proportion, the gifts of travel, especially of travel on foot, are priceless."[337] Indeed, it was here, in the wild places, despite all the charms of travel to this point, that the tourist finally achieved the escape and adventure that defined the safari experience and constituted its principal attractions. "The outdoor life sweetens all existence," wrote A. Barton Hepburn, an American tourist on safari before the First World War; "it cultivates the pure and wholesome in one's life

[336] Source: A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910).
[337] Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (London, 1908, 1962), p. 1.

and aspirations; it lures man from man-made attractions, that pander to sensation, to God-made attractions, that sustain the source of being."[338]

At last, after some days of travel, the safari would enter the best game lands and devote the majority of its time to hunting, leaving the safari crew to maintain camp until it was time to move to the next spot. A small hunting crew, consisting of gun-bearers, trackers, and guides, would accompany the client and his white hunter each day on long treks in the field. From this point on, everything revolved around the game. The waking hour of the hunting party, their comings and goings, their movements in the field, and their every waking thought revolved around the pursuit of trophies. A safari could be strenuous and exhausting, but clients found it deeply satisfying, like a long trek to the summit of a mountain that is rewarded by a sense of accomplishment and the spectacular view. The client could find, upon his return, Abel Chapman wrote:

> A long drink when you return from the field, a servant to remove boots and generally act as a valet, while his mate has a bath and dry clothes ready… Another boy stands with sponge and towel… Half-an-hour's rest and a pipe, the day's experiences compared, diaries entered up, and then dinner is announced. Beneath a spreading acacia stands the table, smart in clean white napery and brightly-burning lamps.[339]

Hunters and camp crew alike developed large appetites after a strenuous day in the field, sated by game meat, beans, rice, canned vegetables, and plenty of alcohol until they became full and warm. "Whisky was our mainstay," Philip Percival wrote, "two tots a night the ration, and of course the inevitable tea."[340] The remainder of the evening would usually be spent smoking, drinking, and merrymaking round the campfire in the company of the guides, whose

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[338] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 7.
[339] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), pp. 114-115.
[340] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 68.

conversation and regaling stories became one of the hallmarks of the safari experience — the better the tale, the better the white hunter.

Safaris were always somewhat rustic — and that was part of the appeal — but professional safari guides, even in the early years, were not above providing an impressive array of luxuries. A. Barton Hepburn, who had hunted in Alaska and many other locales, proclaimed that "the completeness of our outfit in all its appointments surpassed all my previous experiences. We reveled in luxury."[341] Newland and Tarlton had provided him with a wall-tent of eight by ten feet, with a bathroom extension in the rear, covered by an enormous tent-fly of twice the footprint, which protected from sun as well as rain and covered a porch at the entrance. The tent consisted of one ridge-pole and three standards all jointed so as to pack conveniently. Within each tent was a packable canvas bed, a canvas carpet for covering the floor of the inner tent, a wood and iron wash stand that folded up into a small package, and a canvas wash basin, with a soap pocket, that took a gallon of water. Another canvas tub took about ten inches of water and "affords an excellent bath."[342] A mosquito net draped from the ridge of the tent to protect the side of the tent containing the bed. Modest but useful furniture was provided for each tent, including a small table, a few chairs, and sometimes a nightstand.

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The exact routes and destinations of each safari varied widely, but it became popular from an early stage for safaris leaving Nairobi to complete an elaborate loop that included such places as Naivasha, located to the west of Nairobi in the Great Rift Valley; Nakuru; Thompson Falls; the Thiba River; Fort Hall; Mount Kenya; and elsewhere. Here, in the East African highlands, the tourist could witness the region's highly varied topography and scenery, each place holding unique appeal and, in many cases, unique opportunities for hunting as well. Once

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[341] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 46.
[342] Ibid, p. 46.

the safari had left Nairobi and ventured far afield, away from the railway, navigable roads became an innovation of equal, if not greater, value for the caravan. Most of the roads that existed before the First World War had been built to facilitate administration of the newly acquired territories, but these roads, built to facilitate the extension of empire, also made the interior accessible to tourists.

In the early years of administration by the Imperial British East Africa Company in the 1880s and early 1890s, "proper roads," which could handle wagons and facilitate the movement of people and goods, were almost nonexistent in the region. The main route of travel through the interior of East Africa consisted of an old caravan trail, which traversed the territory from Mazeras (15 miles inland from Mombasa) to the Kedong River at the eastern boundary of Uganda, roughly coterminous with the future path of the Uganda Railway. Colonial officials considered it a "tortuous native path."[343] The British undertook improvements on this caravan road beginning in the early 1890s. The first part, which became known as the "Mackinnon Road," ran from Mazeras to Kibwezi, a distance of 185 miles. It was completed in 1893 by Mr. Wilson under the auspices of the Imperial British East Africa Company.[344] Construction began on the second part two years later, becoming known as "Sclater's Road," after the Captain Bertram Lutley Sclater (1866-1897) who constructed it. The road consisted of the 130-mile section of the caravan trail from Kibwezi via Kikuyu to the Kedong, and then through the Uganda Protectorate to Lake Victoria, finishing the main highway to Uganda.

Thereafter a number of smaller cart roads were constructed to connect various towns and forts, most completed after the railway came through shortly after the year 1900. One

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[343] *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 13.

[344] *Report by Sir A. Hardinge on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 20th July, 1897* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1897) [C. — 8683], p. 51.

connected Machakos Road Station with the railway. Another, still under construction in 1905, connected Nairobi to Fort Hall. A driving road was constructed between Nairobi and Dagoretti and Ngong; one from Nairobi to the Kikuyu highlands; and another between Kibwezi and Kitui.[345] Numerous local roads existed as well and continued to expand in number, while the British continued building more when and to the extent that finances allowed. "Throughout the remainder of the territory," a colonial report stated in 1897, "the roads are winding paths, sometimes only about 2 feet wide, but well known to the natives, and well worn by regular usage."[346] Most of these trails would be widened, improved, and converted for wheeled traffic in the years to come. These roads and cart-paths, designed to facilitate administration, settlement, and agriculture and help bring produce to the railway line, played a significant but under-appreciated role in easing the burdens of travel for tourists going on safari. "Thanks to the Uganda Railroad, many government roads and bridges, and a network of well-defined native paths," Richard Tjader wrote in 1910, "most parts of the country are now easily, comfortably, and safely reached, so that even ladies may greatly enjoy a short sojourn in the Protectorate."[347]

Most tourist hunters came in search of Africa's prestigious big-game animals, above all the so-called "Big Five": elephant, rhinoceros, lion, cape buffalo, and leopard. Sportsmen prized these animals first because of their size or mystique, second because of the difficulty of hunting them, and third because of the natural element of danger that enhanced the excitement of the sport. Pursuing the finest trophies – the heaviest "tuskers" (the great prize was an elephant with tusks weighing in excess of 100 pounds each), the largest black-maned lions, or

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345 *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 13.
346 *Report by Sir A. Hardinge on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 20th July, 1897* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1897) [C. — 8683], pp. 51-52.
347 Richard Tjader, *The Big Game of Africa* (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1910), p. 299.

buffalo and rhino bearing large horns – required special efforts and depended greatly on the skill of the professional guide, whose job it was to locate the animals and get the client in position for a shot. Along the way, during the course of a day's hunt, or even on the trail, the client found opportunities to fill his bag with many varieties of plains game, which covered the land in great profusion.

When an animal was killed, a contingent of the safari crew began skinning and preserving the trophy, a process that often took the better part of a day (or more) and involved a great deal of labor. The greatest care for preserving trophies was taken by natural history collectors, who needed full body specimens in a perfect state of preservation, but even casual sportsmen placed great demands on the skinners and porters of a safari crew, their essential but often uncelebrated African labor. Elephants were by far the most difficult owing to their size and thick skin. "It is a formidable task, occupying many days, to preserve an elephant for mounting in a museum," Theodore Roosevelt wrote, "and if the skin is to be properly saved, it must be taken off without an hour's unnecessary delay."[348] If the sun went down before skinning and preserving were finished, the crew pitched camp and lit fires to protect the carcass from scavengers during the night, resuming the task when dawn broke.[349] When the process was finished and the trophies were packed into boxes, they were carried off to Nairobi by small caravans of porters enlisted specifically for the job.

The final task required at the end of a safari was the process of "settling up for the safari and arranging for the shipment of skins and horns," as Percy Madeira discovered at the conclusion of his safari in March 1908.[350] Madeira, like most safari tourists, had sent his

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[348] Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1909), p. 299.
[349] Ibid, p. 110.
[350] Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. p. 287.

trophies to Newland and Tarlton at various times during the safari to have them treated with chemicals to prevent decay on the long shipment back to Rowland and Ward's taxidermy shop in London. The trophies were packed with care into wooden boxes, some small and compact, others large and odd-shaped, but all very heavy. The size and weight of all the trophies killed on a safari lasting several months could be immense and cost the client accordingly. In addition to the expense of transporting the items, the simple task of packing all of these trophies took a great deal of labor, most of it handled by Newland and Tarlton and the African laborers the company employed. After returning to Nairobi, the time came for the client to pay the men employed on his safari. He discovered that they demanded "backsheesh," a form of gratuity for good behavior, in proportion to their monthly pay. Meanwhile the tourist settled up accounts with the outfitting company and the professional guides, distributed tips where they were due (and rarely withheld them when they were not), gathered the mailing address of new friends, and shook hands. After a final round of dinners and social calls, the tourist would board the Uganda Railway to Mombasa, then finally depart on a steamship for the return voyage home.

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There is little doubt that East Africa's safari tourism industry drew great advantages from the transportation technologies and infrastructure that were so frequently commented upon by travelers. The Suez Canal, the Uganda Railway, innumerable roads and cart-paths, and the proliferation of hotels, clubs, outfitters, and shops in Nairobi and the highlands established a set of amenities for the traveler, kept up to "Western standards," that were then unmatched by any other locale in Africa. What is striking about the case of East Africa, and what gave the region such marked advantages, is not that these tourist amenities came to exist and supported the physical expansion of the safari industry, but that they came so early and so rapidly, helping to solidify East Africa's reputation among sportsmen as the premier safari

destination. In the span of only ten years, from 1895 to 1905, a country almost devoid of modern infrastructure carried through one of the largest railway projects in Africa, crisscrossed the land with roads, and witnessed the transformation of Nairobi from a largely uninhabited swamp to the leading city of the region, with all the advantages that entailed for an industry dependent upon a basic level of services and amenities. Such projects often came at the expense of local peoples, of course, and repaid their dividends almost entirely to white settlers. Yet, from the point of view of the safari tourism industry, these infrastructure improvements were an essential precondition for the expansion of the industry. A transportation revolution of this kind did not directly cause safari tourism, nor did it make inevitable, but it did make it possible, and it gave East Africa a number of advantages over alternative destinations that would not be matched until later in the twentieth century.

The nature of these changes, and the unique conditions of East Africa, exerted an important influence on the shape the safari took in the early decades of the century. The methods of travel, the conveniences available to the traveler, the culture of the colony and its upper-class social cast, and above all the extensive array of services by provided by the safari industry, helped to establish certain customs and patterns of activity that would persist for most of the colonial age among the elite visitors enjoying a luxury safari. Many of the safari customs established during the period from 1900 to 1914 outlived their usefulness but were maintained out of nostalgia and precedent, tinged with romanticism and bolstered by the public's interest in imperial endeavors in "exotic" Africa. Many years later, after automobiles and airplanes transformed the requirements of the venture, safari tourists continued, like their hero Theodore Roosevelt and others of the age, to take pains to ride the Uganda Railway, to travel on foot (at least some of time), to dress in khaki and pith helmets like Edwardian British soldiers, to shoot with antiquated English double rifles long since surpassed by their modern equivalents, to sleep

in canvas tents, and in general to treat the safari as a journey not just into the remote wilds of Africa but also back in time to an earlier and simpler age.

Chapter 4: Measuring the Safari Trade, 1900-1914

As we have seen, the first fourteen years of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a safari tourism industry in East Africa. Wealthy sportsmen planning a safari increasingly selected the British East Africa Protectorate as their destination after 1900 owing to a range of advantages and natural attractions then unmatched by any other part of the continent. East Africa boasted among the finest natural endowments of wildlife in the world, a highly varied landscape, and a pleasant and disease-free climate, accessible to the traveler by steamship and railway and offering a capital city with a wide variety of amenities. The influx of visiting hunters, already growing perceptibly by 1900, increased year by year. The rapid development of the country under British rule beginning in the 1890s resulted in the construction of roads, railways, ports, harbors, and telegraph lines, as well as the establishment of towns and cities and the gradual extension of administrative and military control. Moreover, the same features of the land that attracted the hunter also attracted white colonists. As settlers came in numbers, particularly after 1903, they brought with them the trappings of European life that redounded to the benefit of tourists, including hotels, restaurants, clubs, racecourses, hospitals, churches, and in general an active social life in Nairobi. From this population of white settlers came many of the owners, managers, and guides of a safari industry that grew more sophisticated and professional as it grew more lucrative.

It remains to be seen how profitable this safari tourism industry became in the early part of the century. The size and economic output of East Africa's safari industry during the first half of the twentieth century remains one of the great, unsolved puzzles of African economic history. It is precisely when it comes to measuring the safari trade that historians face the greatest difficulty with regard to the source material. Attempts to estimate the scale of the enterprise have been confounded by the lack of statistical data, the paucity of records,

and the near absence of earlier studies to serve as guides and introductions to the subject. This chapter contends that, despite these challenges, enough evidence exists to estimate the size of the safari tourism industry and the trajectory of its development during the sparsely documented years between 1900 and 1914. It must be emphasized that this chapter is no more than a beginning. Those unsatisfied with the imprecision or shortcomings of the estimates provided in this chapter are invited to undertake the research necessary to eliminate them. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the conclusions reached here will produce a more accurate picture of the early safari industry, compel future economic research to improve upon these beginnings, and bring the economic study of the subject to the state of maturity it deserves.

Estimating the economic value of the safari industry has long been a coveted but elusive object. Even in the period before 1914, those involved in the business of safari tourism frequently tried to demonstrate the value of their industry to gain support from government, to attract investment, and to secure a variety of legislation favorable to the tourist trade. What is especially striking in the case of Kenya is that conservationists and the game department recognized from an early date the contributions that tourism could make to the fortunes of wildlife conservation. According to this line of thought, conserving wild animals through strict hunting regulations and the creation of protected areas could preserve wildlife and nature and thereby enhance the prospects of attracting tourists and sportsmen. The revenues generated by this increased wildlife tourism could then be plowed back into the game departments and various conservation schemes in a mutually reinforcing dynamic. With proper management and adequate funding for its game departments, Kenya could continue to attract yet greater numbers of hunters and tourists whose interest in the country depended on the vitality of its wildlife and nature. This idea, simple in principle and logical in its premise, could only be pressed upon the governing authorities when and to the extent that proponents could prove that East Africa's tourism industry truly was a goose laying golden eggs.

Contemporary attempts to pin economic value to the early safari industry were generally limited to Game Department annual reports, which tabulated revenues earned directly from the sale of hunting licenses, and from the commercial sale of ivory collected by the authorities.[351] No sustained attempt was made to estimate the value of Kenya's general tourism industry before the Second World War. The failure of scholars to attempt even qualified conclusions about the scale of the safari industry during the first half of the century has resulted from two principal factors. The first is that the documentary record is fragmentary and incomplete. There was no official count of tourist arrivals in East Africa until 1938, and, even then, statistics remained highly unreliable until they were standardized by the East African Tourist Travel Association in 1948, with the help of the East African Statistical Department.[352] Annual trade reports produced by British colonies and protectorates, though excellent in many respects, reflected a cast of mind that was preoccupied with those sectors of the economy that lend themselves to straightforward measurement in the balance of trade: production of raw materials, agriculture, industry, the import and export of goods, the earning of revenue, and the provision of foreign investment. Invisible exports like tourism, in which a package of services created in one country was sold to foreign buyers in informal and ad hoc exchanges, did not register on colonial balances of trade, real though they were for the recipients of the tourist's cash.

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[351] For example, A.T.A. Ritchie, the Chief Game Warden of Kenya, commented in 1931 that the Game Department could not account for indirect revenue earned from sport hunting, photography, and the safari trade, but he was "certain that it is many times greater than the direct [revenue from ivory and license sales], which is unfortunately all that we can show – and boast of." "Game Department Annual Report, 1931" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

[352] The year 1938 saw the establishment of the East Africa Publicity Association, which attempted to count visitors to the country for the first time. The methods were new and unrigorous, however, and the conclusions unreliable. The project then fell into abeyance following the outbreak of war in 1939 and was not revived until 1948, with the establishment of a successor association called the East African Tourist Travel Association, whose history is described in later chapters.

The difficulty of writing the economic history of the safari tourism industry is indicated by the conclusions reached in the sole existing "economic" history of the subject, a much-neglected book by the Kenyan geographer Dr. Joseph Ouma.[353] This slim volume, published in 1970, became the first to use the records relating to tourism held at the Kenya National Archives. Yet despite a title purporting to survey the period from 1900 (probably imposed by the publisher), Ouma's investigation surrenders to the near-absence of documentation on the early years of the safari industry, devoting a mere two paragraphs to the period before the 1930s. The period spanning 1890 to 1938, Ouma writes, was the "period of indifference," when "Europe was too poor to afford much money for pleasure-travel and the sea journey to East Africa was long and expensive."[354] Transportation and accommodations facilities could not satisfy "anything more than a trickle of adventurous visitors," he continued. "The East African economy was infantile and weak, while public and private institutions for tourist promotion were virtually non-existent…. There was nowhere [in the world] a major and unfettered outflow of tourists."[355]

Ouma's mistake is to base his conclusions about the pre-1938 safari trade on the story told by *available* statistics. Indeed, his choice of the date 1938 (instead of the more obvious 1939) refers to the foundational year of the East African Publicity Association, which inaugurated the first attempts to keep statistical records on tourism. Yet tourist travel to East Africa *happened* long before it was *measured*. Ouma deserves applause for having been the first — and, as far as I can tell, the only — scholar to attempt to quantify the scale of the tourism industry during these decades, but he appears to have reached hasty and erroneous conclusions about the formative years of the industry owing primarily to the lack of reliable statistical data

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[353] Joseph P.B.M. Ouma, *Evolution of Tourism in East Africa, 1900-2000* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1970).
[354] Ibid, pp. 6-7.
[355] Ibid, p. 7.

prior to 1938. His propositions quoted above are falsifiable in most instances and debatable in the rest. Having planted his feet on the solid ground of empirical evidence, he failed to realize that the answer lay somewhere out at sea.

The second major factor precluding an economic history of the safari industry relates not to sources or to the availability of statistical estimates, but rather to historiography and the directions of the scholarly world. The matter, put simply, is that when the study of economic history was popular, tourism was regarded as comparatively unimportant.[356] By the time tourism came to be recognized as an important sector in the new, globalized, service-oriented economy, scholarly interest had shifted to other intellectual questions, away from economic history. That is to say, earlier generations of economic historians, tracing back to the beginning of the century, have privileged the study of industrial capitalism, the global flows of finance and investment, and the production of raw materials and agricultural goods. The practitioners of early economic history, ranging from Marxists to liberal capitalists to proponents of "dependency theory," though eminently sophisticated on a wide range of topics and surely aware of tourism as an economic phenomenon, neglected the study of tourism enough that a satisfactory history of the subject for East Africa has never been completed.

Moreover, many of the best historians since the 1970s and 1980s, even when they have studied tourism, have directed their energies to other intellectual questions, primarily to the study of social and cultural themes. In such scholarship, tourism is studied as a means of analyzing the social, cultural, and political motivations for tourist travel, or various aspects of race, class, gender, culture, and social relations that played out in tourist spaces. Other

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[356] This notion holds true for most of the major economic histories of Kenya, though a few make attempts to examine tourism for the later parts of the century. See, for example, Roger Van Zwanenberg, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970* (London: Macmillan, 1975); William Robert Ochieng' and Robert M. Maxon, *An Economic History of Kenya* (East African Publishers, 1992); and Paul Mosley, *The Settler Economies: Studies in the Economic History of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1963* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

scholarship has examined the ways in which tourism was promoted by appealing to national pride or heritage, including settler nationalism in Africa.[357] Historical subfields on travel writing and hunting have likewise found in the words and actions of participants a reflection of "imperial" mentalities and the "othering" of non-Western peoples that were characteristic of the imperial age.[358] These perspectives, valuable for what they have shown us about the social and cultural attitudes of tourists and the conditions of the imperial age, nevertheless had the effect of precluding an economic history that might have clarified the prevalence and the profits of tourist travel in early colonial East Africa. Only in recent years have historians in related fields acquired an interest in the economic matters relevant to the history of tourism.[359]

These remarks, though necessary to indicate the undeveloped state of the field, are not meant to strike a note of anti-climax, still less to suggest that an economic assessment is impossible given the state of the historical record. One of the central empirical claims of this study is that enough evidence exists in the historical record to estimate the number of tourists arriving in East Africa each year, the probable length of their visits, and even their average expenditure in the country between 1900 and 1914. These possibilities for measuring the economic output of the safari industry arise from scattered records, both official and unofficial,

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[357] See, for example, Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Durban: Natal University Press, 1995); Terence Ranger, *Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture and History in the Matopos Hills, Zimbabwe* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999); Eric Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity Since the Irish Civil War* (Syracuse University Press, 2009).

[358] See especially M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

[359] There are inherent risks in imposing a date on such a general statement, but it is generally agreed that the subject escaped serious notice until the occasion of several events during the early 2000s. In 2001, The University of Central Lancashire in Preston, UK hosted a conference entitled "Tourisms: Identities, Environments, Conflicts and Histories." A second conference was held in Preston in 2003. The success of the conferences led to the foundation of the International Commission for the History of Travel and Tourism (ICHTT), an affiliated commission of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences. Several years later, in 2009, the ICHTT founded the *Journal of Tourism History,* published by Taylor and Francis, now a leading peer-reviewed publication in the field, which takes a significant and growing number of articles on the economics of tourism history.

including game department records, contemporary guidebooks, memoirs, and a few historical accounts. While it is too early to provide a definitive assessment of the tourist trade during these early years, this chapter nevertheless aims to indicate the state of the historical record to the extent it is known, and to draw preliminary conclusions on the basis of the existing evidence.

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The principal source of our knowledge about the scale of the early safari industry derives from the records of the colonial game departments, particularly of the British East Africa Protectorate, which indicate the numbers and types of game licenses sold to visiting hunters. The comprehensive game regulations introduced in the 1890s and revised in 1900 required all hunters to purchase licenses under several different categories linked to the status of the hunter.[360] The iteration of these regulations in 1900 granted licenses under five different categories: (1) Sportsman's License; (2) Public Officer's License;[361] (3) Settler's License;[362] (4) Trader's License; and (5) Native's License.[363] The exact categories of licenses underwent changes in 1906 and again in 1909, but always maintained a category for the "Sportsman," which the regulations defined as "a person who visits any part of the Protectorate wholly or partly for sporting purposes, not being a public officer, settler, or native."[364] The Sportsman's

[360] "The Game Regulations, 1899" were first introduced by Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General for the East Africa Protectorate, with the approval of the Secretary of State, under Article 45 of "The East Africa Order in Council, 1897," in *Africa* [Cd. 3189.]: *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906), pp. 58-61.

[361] The *Game Regulations of 1900* defined Public Officer as "a European Officer in the public service of the East Africa or Uganda or Zanzibar Protectorates, or in the Superior Establishment of the Uganda Railway, or an Officer of one of Her Majesty's ships on the East African station."

[362] A "settler" was defined as anyone resident in the country not being a public officer or native.

[363] A "native" was defined as anyone native to Africa, not being of European descent. Asians resident in Kenya were allowed to purchase licenses on the same terms as Europeans.

[364] For the 1906 amendments, see Game Ordinance No. 9 of 1906, *Africa* [Cd. 3189.]: *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906), pp. 356-57. The *Game Ordinance of 1909* abolished the Public Officer's and Settler's License in favor of a substitute for both called the "Resident's License," a change made primarily to satisfy complaints that public officers had formerly enjoyed privileges not granted to the settler. Finally, the 1909 regulations

license cost the princely sum of £50 at a time when a Ford motorcar, then considered a luxury even for the rich in the West, could be purchased in Nairobi for £215, *after* comparatively high shipping costs and custom duties.[365] The license was therefore created for the type of sportsman with which this study is concerned: the wealthy hunter from overseas who visited East Africa as a tourist and who usually, but not always, engaged the services of a safari company and its professional guides.[366]

Servants of the British Empire employed in administrative, military, political, or other capacities, including the employees of the Uganda Railway, could purchase the much more affordable Public Officer's License – although many of them, especially soldiers on leave from other colonies, were a kind of tourist themselves. Most non-tourists resident in East Africa fell under the Trader's or Native's License categories. Settlers, too, received their own license at a low cost, but it was more restricted than the Public Officer's License and, until 1909, those settlers wishing to kill the most coveted big game animals, such as elephant and rhinoceros, had to purchase the costly Sportsman's License to receive the same privileges. This provision affects the pre-1909 statistics tabulated below, since a certain portion of the licenses went to residents and not tourists. But, in general, because of the high cost of the Sportsman's License and the restrictions it carried before 1909, most sales of Sportsman's licenses went to visiting hunters. After 1909, when the restrictions on the Settler's License were removed, virtually all of them did. The high cost of the £50 Sportsman's License ensured that it went almost wholly

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introduced a new category for the "Land-holder," which entitled the holder to kill game on his own land alone at a reduced license cost. See "The Game Ordinance, 1909," *Africa* [Cd. 5136.]: *Further Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910), p. 86.

365 Advertisement by Nairobi Motor Garage and Engineering Works, *The East African Standard,* 23 November 1912, p. 15.

366 The original price of the Sportsman's License was listed at 375 rupees (£25), as compared with the price of only 45 rupees (£3) attached to licenses for Settlers, Public Officers, and Traders. See Ibid, p. 107. The fee of the Sportsman's License was adjusted several times before finally settling at £50, where it remained for most of the colonial age.

to wealthy visitors, compelling others to seek out the more affordable licenses available to locals or to other non-tourist hunters. Even some visitors, such as W.H. Olivier, who visited in 1907, found the price "extortionate" and complained that "surely fifty pounds is too high a price for this […] keeping out many a genuine sportsman in favor of people to whom money is no consideration, who spoil the market all round" by driving up the prices.[367]

In 1909, the Traveller's License was adopted as a second option for visiting hunters, but the terms differed from the Sportsman's License in several important ways.[368] Whereas the Sportsman's License sold for £50 and allowed its holders to shoot the full range of East Africa's big-game animals on virtually any lands, the Traveller's License cost only £1 but came with stipulations. First, although the Traveller's License was designed to allow any person traveling in the Protectorate to kill game for food or sport, the holder of the license was allowed only a restricted number of zebra and common antelope. Second, on Crown Land (i.e. public land owned by the government), the terms of the license prohibited the killing of elephant, rhinoceros, Cape buffalo, lion, leopard, and other coveted big-game animals desired by nearly every visiting sportsman. Third, the Traveller's License was good only for one month. On the surface, the Traveller's license appeared to be unsuitable for the visitor.

Despite these stipulations, however, the Traveller's License came with a special provision that made it popular among a certain class of visiting hunter. If the holder of a Traveller's License obtained permission to hunt on private land with the consent of the owner, he was allowed to kill any big-game animal listed on the Sportsman's License. The terms of the license were immediately seized upon for the opportunities they provided for sport among visitors to the territory. The advantage from the hunter's point of view was to gain access to a

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[367] W.H. Olivier, Letter to the Editor, *East African Standard,* 7 December 1907, p. 6.
[368] See "The Game Ordinance, 1909," *Africa* [Cd. 5136.]: *Further Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1910), pp. 76-

great deal of shooting at a much lower cost than the Sportsman's license. At the same time, the Traveller's license offered landowners and safari companies an opportunity to profit if they could arrange to lease private land to visiting sportsmen. The Game Department fully intended this dynamic and saw it as an indirect subsidy to the settler and landowner. The Game Warden explained the purpose of the Traveller's License in wholly positive terms in his report for 1910-12:

> During the past year [owing to the introduction of the Traveller's License] landholders who own private land in good game districts have adopted the custom of leasing the shooting of their farms to visiting sportsmen or have charged a certain sum for a particular animal. In this way a visitor is able to obtain a great deal of shooting and a fair variety of trophies at a very much lower figure than the £50 Sportsman's License.[369]

Although the government lost revenue by selling Traveller's Licenses for the low £1 fee, the Game Warden explained that fees for leasing private land reached nearly the same figure, and that much of this money "goes into the private landholders' pocket instead of into Government Revenues." By such means, he concluded, and because the continuation of private-land leases required healthy game populations, the arrangement was "acting as a great inducement to landholders to protect the game on their land."

Landowners could easily advertise their farms for hunting in local papers, or list their names with safari firms, who facilitated arrangements between landowners and visitors. Information also spread informally. It was not unusual for a visiting sportsman of high class or respectable reputation to appear on the doorstep of a well-known landowner with a request to hunt the land in exchange for a fee. Many such sportsmen were also friends of the settlers, which, among the British upper classes, often meant a distant acquaintance who expected special dispensation from his peers during a visit to the country. As Lord Cranworth, who later

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[369] "Annual Report of Game Warden, 1910-11 & 1911-12" (A. Blayney Percival), Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

joined Newland and Tarlton, explained of the situation: "We continually sought for expedients to hold the fort until such time as we could [bring our farms into] production" by erecting a hut and leasing the land to "sportsmen from England, we of course providing cooks, shikaris and expert assistance. We had no lack of clients of various kinds, including both personal friends and 'honeymoon' couples." Cranworth reported that profits from such visiting sportsmen averaged over £300 per year and was "a very pleasant help in times of trouble."[370] License sales to visiting hunters by the Game Department of the British East Africa Protectorate grew rapidly between 1900 and 1914, as shown in the graph and table below.

[370] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 35.

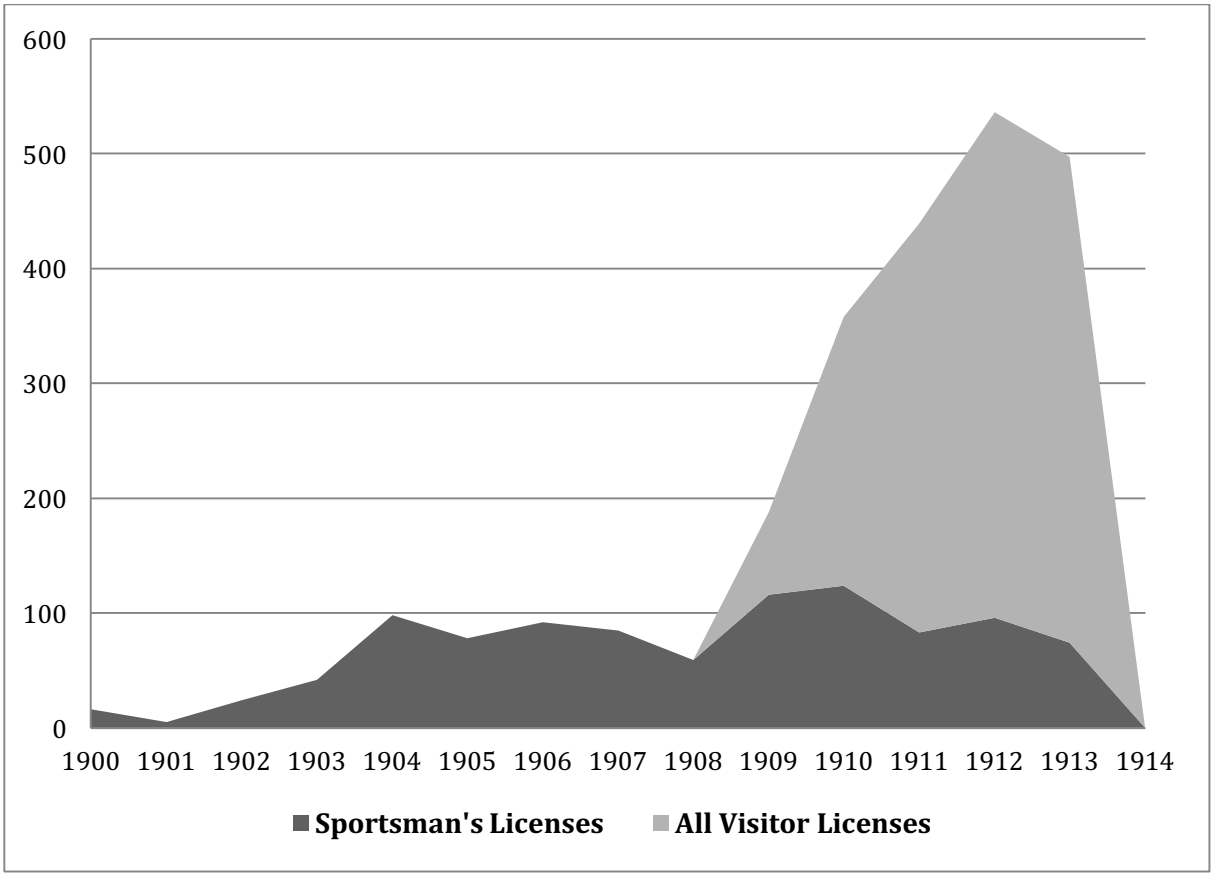

Figure 3. Hunting licenses issued to visitors in Kenya, 1900-1914.[371]

[371] The Sportsman's License, which sold for £50, represented the core of the wealthy safari clientele. The remainder of the visitor licenses sold for only £1, but they came with special stipulations: if the visitor wanted to shoot the "desirable" big game of East Africa, he had to use the license on private land, which required either a fee (paid by the visitor), a lease (paid by a safari company and passed along to the client), or personal acquaintance between visitor and land owner.

Year	Sportsman's License (£50)	Traveller's License (£1)	Total
1899	4*	—	4
1900	16*	—	16
1901	5*	—	5
1902	24	—	24
1903	42	—	42
1904-05	98	—	98
1905-06	78*	—	78
1906-07	92*	—	92
1907-08	85*	—	85
1908-09	59*	—	59
1909-10	116	72	188
1910-11	124	234	358
1911-12	83	356	439
1912-13	96	440	536
1913-14	74	423	497
1914-15	—	—	—

Table 1: Game Licenses Issued to Visiting Hunters in the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya).[372]

[372] Note on table: Figures marked with an asterisk (*) indicate years in which the Game Department failed to produce an annual report that compiled license figures from the numerous districts of the Protectorate.372 Where annual reports are unavailable, the figures are gathered and collated from quarterly reports published in the Kenya Gazette for each district of the Protectorate, but are likely to be incomplete owing to uneven and inconsistent reporting. The Game Department of British East Africa did not produce annual reports or publish game license records consistently until 1909, when the regulations were revised and the duties of the Game Department expanded. Prior to that time, the license figures stated in the table were only tabulated for the whole Protectorate on an *ad hoc* basis, usually when a figure was needed for official discussions being held in London, particularly the Convention on the preservation of wildlife in 1900. For alternate years, denoted by an asterisk, the only figures available come separately from individual districts, not all of which reported the numbers of licenses sold. The marked improvement in the license statistics after 1909 were the result of the administrative and record-keeping overhaul implemented by the new, energetic administration of Sir Percy Girouard, who became governor in that year. Girouard was an Army officer who had served in Sudan, Egypt, and South Africa, before attaining high political office in Nigeria, where he served as Governor from 1907 to 1909. His experience in the highly organized and efficient administration of Lugard's Nigeria stood in stark contrast with the improvised character of the East Africa Protectorate. By 1910 he produced an outstanding report on the problems of the East Africa

This data indicates that the safari industry grew enormously after 1900, more than doubling every five years until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Only four tourist-hunters took out licenses in the East Africa Protectorate in 1899, the first year records were kept, each visitor required to purchase the expensive £50 license earmarked for visiting "Sportsmen."[373] The number of visiting hunters rose to 98 in the year 1904.[374] By this time, most visiting hunters began to make use of the expanding options for enjoying a professionally organized safari, either with an "outfitter" of the old style, with one of the new hotels that provided inclusive safari packages, or with one of the local "white hunters" who offered their services to the visitor as freelance professional guides. As we have already seen, the arrival of white settlers in numbers after 1903 greatly expanded the range of options for those seeking professional guides and outfitters, most of them consisting of experienced locals who took up guiding to supplement their uncertain incomes as pioneering farmers. Only in 1905 did East Africa's safari industry put itself on firm footing with Newland and Tarlton's entry into the business as the first dedicated, all-inclusive safari company. Others enterprises followed and emulated their approach, ensuring that visitors to the country, even those who had failed to plan beforehand, could find a local guide willing to provide newcomers with a wide range of services. By 1909, the year of Theodore Roosevelt's safari, a total of 188 tourist-hunters visited

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Protectorate, recommending a raft of reforms of administration, personnel, and method. He found that record-keeping was almost non-existent and the archives poorly maintained. To establish continuity in policy and advance systematic principles of administration, Girouard initiated a series of special provincial and district reports, political record books, and a system of regular annual reports from which all subsequent data in this study is drawn. Gordon Mungeam, writing in 1966, commented that "it is no coincidence that the research worker of today finds that the majority of surviving local records date back to 1910, when Girouard's reorganization began" (p. 226). On this issue, see G.H. Mungeam, *British Rule in Kenya, 1895-1912* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 208-228, especially p. 226.

[373] The tally is given in quarterly reports published in *The Official Gazette of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates,* Vol. I, No. I of 15 November 1899 to Vol. II, No. 9 of 15 March 1900 (Nairobi, 1900).

[374] F.J. Jackson to Mr. Lyttelton, Memo on Returns of Game in the East Africa Protectorate, 1904-05, 25 August 1905, *Africa* [Cd. 3189.]: *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1906), 291-92.

the East Africa Protectorate.[375] The number of visiting hunters reached a pre-war peak of 536 in 1912-13, before the outbreak of the First World War, when the commencement of hostilities and their subsequent spread to German and British East Africa forced the safari industry to cease activity altogether for the duration of the war.[376]

These figures roughly accord with the recollections of individuals who had experience with the early safari industry. Lord Cranworth called the period from 1908 to 1914 "the palmy days of big game shooting" in East Africa, when "princes, peers, and American magnates poured out in one continual stream, and the safari firm Newland and Tarlton, whose management later on I joined, waxed so fat that a rival firm entered the field of competition" (by which he probably meant the Boma Trading Company under the management of Captain Riddell).[377] Cranworth recalled that Newland and Tarlton served over 300 clients in its peak year, an estimate that accords with the game license figures if we accept that the company captured a majority, but not all, of the safari business in the territory, including many hunting private land on Traveller's Licenses. Christine Nicholls, an Oxford historian, likewise reckons a figure similar to those cited above when she writes that "three to four hundred safari parties visited East Africa annually during the first fourteen years of the twentieth century."[378] The American journalist John McCutcheon verified in 1910 that no fewer than 30 safaris had gone out in September.[379] Leslie Tarlton told Roosevelt that he had 43 parties out at one time.[380] Even as early as late 1905 and early 1906, Blayney Percival, writing as a game ranger,

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375 A. Blayney Percival (Chief Game Warden, East Africa Protectorate), "Game Report and Lists of Game Killed, 1909-10," Kenya National Archives: KW/23/170.
376 A. Blayney Percival (Chief Game Warden, East Africa Protectorate), "Annual Report of the Game Warden, 1913-14," Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
377 Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 106.
378 C.S. Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 66.
379 Ibid, p. 61.
380 Ibid, p. 61.

commented that safaris were out all over the country, and "the Athi Plains in particular were covered with camps…" The sport was becoming so popular, Percival wrote, that "if the number of parties during this year… is up to expectations, I do not see where they are all going to shoot, as very few care to leave the beaten track."[381] Claims such as these can be repeated with dizzying redundancy. Some of them are clearly circumstantial; others are difficult to relate to the more reliable Game Department records; but together they do, on the whole, reinforce the basic picture of the safari industry's growth depicted by the official game department records.

While it may be true that a certain number of Sportsman's and Traveller's Licenses went to non-tourists, it is equally true that a great number of Public Officer's Licenses went to soldiers and officials on leave from India and other colonies who counted in effect as tourists, even though they are not included in the estimates provided above. Although it is impossible, owing to the ambiguous nature of the records, to determine the exact balance in each license category between tourists and non-tourists, it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose, first, that an overwhelming majority of Sportsman's and Traveller's Licenses went to tourists; secondly, that holders of the Public Officer's license included a few tourists who are not counted here; and, thirdly, that the differences (which are impossible to measure) largely balance out. The estimates given in this chapter are based on this assumption in the absence of more precise data.

* * *

A watershed occurred in the history of the safari in 1909 that had a powerful influence on the trajectory of the industry's growth, clearly evident in the game license statistics. That year came to be regarded as the *annus mirabilis* of the East African safari. In 1909, Theodore

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[381] Quoted in Noel Simon, *Between the Sunlight and the Thunder: The Wild Life of Kenya* (London: Collins, 1962), p. 123-124.

Roosevelt and two other high profile parties went on extended safaris that were followed closely across the world. The publicity was enormous. Roosevelt was then at the height of his powers. He had just retired from the presidency of the United States and, having (prematurely) announced his retirement from politics, intended the safari to celebrate the end of his political career. Carl Akeley, the famous American taxidermist who had engaged a safari with Newland and Tarlton in 1905, undertook another safari at the same time as Roosevelt's with the purpose of collecting animal specimens for the American Museum of Natural History. That same year, W.D. Boyce, an American newspaper man and photographer, organized an expedition to capture photographs of East Africa's wildlife from hot air balloons for part of his larger photo-journalism work on Africa.

The three safaris provided endless fodder for eager journalists. It was inevitable that reporters would follow the newly retired president into the wilds of Africa, waiting for the next chance to break a story, but Roosevelt, in cooperation with the Colonial Office, took pains to keep journalists at a strictly imposed distance. One Colonial Office official wrote to James H. Sadler, governor of the East Africa Protectorate, that "I should be very glad if… you will use your authority and influence to discourage any attempts at persecution by enterprising Pressmen, and to prevent them from making [Roosevelt's] life a burden by following him wherever he goes."[382] Although journalists were instructed to keep their distance and generally complied, they shadowed Roosevelt's safari anyway, camping in clusters on the distant outskirts of his camp, reporting his movements and activities in a flood of articles to the world press. The luckiest journalists were embedded with one of the safaris or received special privileges to interview the former president. The public naturally read their stories with great interest. Roosevelt at every turn seemed to be living out the life of hardihood and adventure

[382] Unsigned CO Minute, 19 January 1909, CO 533/48.

that he had so often evoked in speeches and writings. So great was the publicity that John McCutcheon, a *Chicago Tribune* journalist attached to the Akeley expedition, proclaimed:

> Before Colonel Roosevelt drew the eyes of the world on British East Africa, Nairobi was practically unheard of.... Now it is decidedly on the map, thanks to our gallant and picturesque Theodore. It has been mentioned in book and magazine to a degree that nearly everybody can tell in a general way where and what it is, even if he can not pronounce it.[383]

East Africa's emerging safari industry could not have hoped for better publicity.

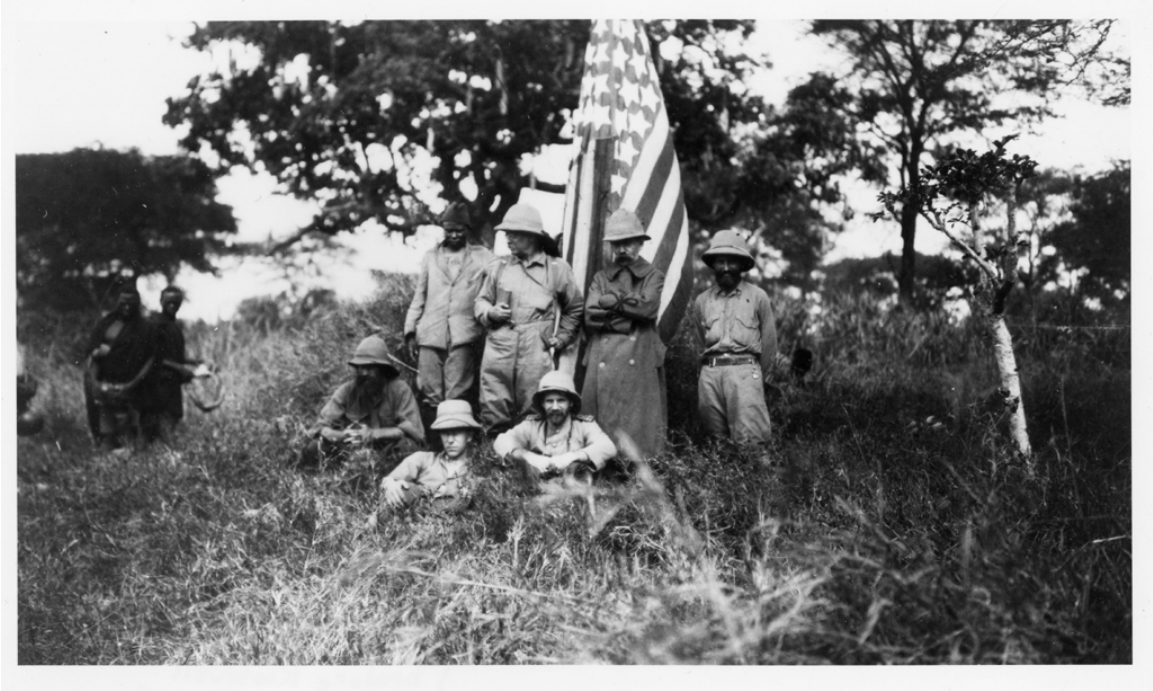

Illustration 20: Theodore Roosevelt and other members of his expedition from the Smithsonian Roosevelt African Expedition.[384]

Roosevelt's safari in 1909-10 was undoubtedly the largest sporting expedition undertaken in East Africa up to that time, reputedly reaching as many as 500 porters at its peak.

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[383] John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1910), p. 43.

[384] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This image, held by the Smithsonian Institution Archives, has no known copyright restrictions and is believed to be in the public domain.

He left Nairobi on June 3, 1909 and ended his safari in Sudan in March 1910.[385] Accounts of the costs of the Roosevelt safari vary owing to the blurred lines between his personal expenses and those of the larger scientific expedition of which he was part, but either way it was a tremendously expensive undertaking. Roosevelt expected the expenses of himself and his son, Kermit, to reach about $25,000, which he would pay with the proceeds of his writings. He had agreed to serialize his account of the safari with *Scribner's Magazine* for $50,000 (roughly £10,000), a sum equivalent to about $1,340,000 today.[386] *Collier's* and *McClure's* both offered him twice as much, but Roosevelt turned them down because they were less prestigious.[387] Rumors circulated that the ex-president was being paid a dollar a word. It was only a slight exaggeration. The articles Roosevelt sent to *Scribner's* from the field were later compiled into a single volume and published under the title *African Game Trails* (1909), which continued to produce royalties for many years.[388] Once Roosevelt decided to make it a scientific expedition, he persuaded Charles D. Wolcott, the secretary of the Smithsonian, to create a special fund with the goal of raising $30,000 for the expedition's scientific work.[389] Oscar Straus (Roosevelt's secretary of commerce and labor), Jacob Schiff (a financier), and Robert Bacon (a Harvard classmate, diplomat, and former J.P. Morgan banker) each put up $5,000. Many others, including Andrew Carnegie, pledged smaller sums. Somewhat later Roosevelt and the

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[385] For these dates, see "Roosevelt Caravan Quarter Mile Long," *New York Times* (July 19, 1909), ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2010), p. 3; and Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), pp. 72-73.

[386] This estimate is based on the Consumer Price Index and refers to the purchasing power of money. The estimate is derived from the currency calculator created by Lawrence Officer, Professor of Economics at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and Samuel Williamson, Emeritus Professor of Economics at Miami University. See <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php> [Accessed May 6, 2015].

[387] Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), p. 21.

[388] Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1909).

[389] Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), p. 19.

expedition's scientists began asking for an additional $30,000, bringing the total institutional funding to $60,000 over and above the personal expenses that Roosevelt and Kermit incurred for themselves.[390] The figure of $75,000 is probably close to the total cost. Contemporary newspapers had some justification for reporting that the Roosevelt safari was spending $10,000 per month.[391]

Roosevelt's correspondence[392] suggests that he originally had in mind a small hunting trip of the kind one took in the American West, consisting of a few members and a skeletal staff, but the safari soon grew to immense proportions. He planned to begin in British East Africa, travel through Uganda and the eastern edge of the Belgian Congo, and then hunt his way along the Nile northwards into Sudan. Newland and Tarlton would manage and guide Roosevelt's safari the whole way. Roosevelt, in characteristic manner, sought to plan the safari thoroughly by dispatching letters to several of the most experienced hunters in Africa, including Frederick Selous (whom he had met hunting in the American West), Edward North Buxton, W.S. Rainsford, John Henry Patterson (of Tsavo fame), and Sir Alfred Pease. He sent separate enquiries to major outfitting companies, including Abercrombie and Fitch in New York and Lawn and Alder of London. Recommendations poured in about how to organize a safari and what supplies had proven useful in Africa. Roosevelt the politician, under the weight of more advice than one man could readily assimilate, found it easier to include everything than to accept one man's recommendations over another.

As the plans took shape and the day of departure approached, it became clear that Roosevelt's safari would be conducted on a grand scale. Every gear list sent by an outfitting company and every recommendation offered by an advisor increased the number of boxes to

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390 Ibid, pp. 53-64.
391 John T. McCutcheon, "With McCutcheon in Africa: Seeing Nairobi," *Dallas Morning News* (30 January 1910), p. 2. Reprinted from *The Chicago Tribune*.
392 Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967).

be shipped and the porters required to carry them. Multiple hats and pith helmets, colored glasses, spine pads, a silk tent custom-made by Abercrombie and Fitch, superfluous firearms donated by gun-makers, compasses, cameras, binoculars, massive canvas tents, portable bathtubs, tables and other furniture, a gaudy American flag, and copious quantities of goods and gadgets were purchased on consignment and sent to Africa to be carried into the wilds. Lawn and Alder alone sent out 36 boxes containing nothing but food.[393] Roosevelt's personal belongings also included about 60 classic volumes that he called the Pigskin Library, which consisted of books specially trimmed at the margins, bound in pigskin to withstand the rigors of travel, and packed in a specially designed aluminum box that weighed in just under the 60-pound limit of a porter's load.

In planning his safari on such a scale and with so much extravagance, Roosevelt unwittingly created new standards of what a luxury safari entailed. The safari companies and outfitters that scurried and innovated to meet the ex-president's requirements eagerly indulged their new clients with accounts of how the great man had arranged his safari. Roosevelt, more than anyone before or since, turned the safari into a great fashion that was emulated by everyone who could afford it. As it turned out, Roosevelt was more or less cajoled into doing his safari the East African way – which is to say, by hiring a safari firm on commission and employing a professional "white hunter" to guide the expedition. Roosevelt initially regarded both of these luxuries as superfluous and perhaps even unbecoming for an experienced hunter in North America, but he soon recognized that in East Africa they were standard practice for any wealthy visitor who wanted to do a safari the proper way.

Frederick Jackson, the Acting Governor-General of British East Africa, persuaded Roosevelt to use Newland and Tarlton as his agents, and Roosevelt's other East African

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[393] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), 51.

advisors readily agreed.[394] The former president soon extended some other business, including the purchase of a few animals, to the Boma Trading Company, which had emerged as a competitor of Newland and Tarlton, despite their tendency to organize safaris more in the old-fashioned way. R.J. Cunninghame was put in charge of Roosevelt's safari, largely as the result of fervent pleas by Paul Rainsford, one of Roosevelt's advisors, that a white man must accompany the safari as a manager and organizer. Roosevelt insisted that the head guide refrain from shooting: "Be sure he understands that *I* am to do the shooting!" Roosevelt proclaimed in a statement that betrays his unfamiliarity with the East African scene ("white hunters" only fired a weapon if the client's life was in danger).[395] A Goanese hunter named M.A. DaSilva was initially hired to guide Roosevelt's son, Kermit, but later dropped from the safari. Cunninghame would guide Kermit. Leslie Tarlton then joined as a third professional guide somewhat later and became the elder Roosevelt's "white hunter."

For all the extravagance of Roosevelt's own personal planning, nothing swelled the size of the safari more than gaining official sponsorship from the Smithsonian Institution. Hunting Africa as a private citizen would have made Roosevelt subject to the strict game laws then in force in the British colonies, restricting his bag to a limited number of animals. But under the auspices of a distinguished scientific institution, the Roosevelt safari gained special permission to harvest a large number of animal specimens ostensibly for scientific purposes. The Smithsonian attached three scientists to aid Roosevelt in the collection of flora and fauna specimens: Major Edgar Mearns, J. Alden Loring, and Edmund Heller. The famed wildlife photographer and filmmaker Cherry Kearton joined the safari to record its activities, later releasing his work as a silent film entitled "Roosevelt in Africa."[396]

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[394] Ibid, p. 52.
[395] Quoted in ibid, p. 53.
[396] The Smithsonian, "Smithsonian-Roosevelt African Expedition," http://www.mnh.si.edu/onehundredyears/expeditions/SI-Roosevelt_Expedition.html [Accessed March 9,

Illustration 21: A large flag flew over Roosevelt's camp.[397]

The scale of their activities was astounding. Roosevelt's expedition collected a total of 23,151 natural history specimens, including 512 big-game animals, many of them shot by Roosevelt himself.[398] It took several tons of salt just to preserve the skins for shipment back to the United States. The hundreds of boxes packed tightly with specimens arrived in Washington, DC in such large numbers that it took museum employees eight years to prepare

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2015]. The work of Cherry Kearton and other wildlife photographers and filmmakers will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

[397] Source: John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1910).

[398] The Smithsonian, "Smithsonian-Roosevelt African Expedition," http://www.mnh.si.edu/onehundredyears/expeditions/SI-Roosevelt_Expedition.html [Accessed March 9, 2015].

them for display. The trophies required several tons of salt to preserve them for the sea journey to New York. Only a fraction ended up in the new United States National Museum building in Washington, D.C. (today known as the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History). The rest were donated to other museums, and a few ended up at scattered locations around the country, including on the walls of the Harvard Club.

Illustration 22: Theodore Roosevelt poses next to a dead elephant, c. 1910.[399]

More than a few sportsmen and conservationists wondered aloud if the scale of slaughter was justified. "Do those nine white rhinoceroses ever cause ex-president Roosevelt a pang of conscience or a restless night? I for one venture to hope so," Lord Cranworth

[399] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This image, now in the public domain, is held in the Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division under the digital ID cph.3c31443.

remarked.[400] Frederick Jackson, no faint-hearted animal lover himself, complained of Roosevelt's "reckless expenditure of ammunition."[401] Nevertheless, the general reaction to Roosevelt's safari was very positive, both inside and outside of East Africa. In addition to providing riveting tales of masculine hardihood for readers back home, Roosevelt also fitted the ideal of the Anglo sportsman and was warmly received by the British upper classes, especially among the white settlers of East Africa, who largely shared his attitudes about the world. Roosevelt had long regarded himself as an avid sportsman and had hunted all over North America, especially in the American West. Hunting in a newly accessible African territory with the aid of safari companies and guides was a natural extension of his passions, and also provided a platform for reinforcing his love for wild places and the need to preserve them for the enjoyment of future generations. His support for wildlife conservation, already displayed in his campaigns for the creation of national parks in the United States, fitted well with the gentlemanly conservation policies being pursued in East Africa at the time of his visit in 1909 and 1910 – though many then, as now, found his pursuit of conservation through killing wild animals to be more than a little incongruous.

Roosevelt also came across as an empire builder cut from the same cloth as Cecil Rhodes, and this enhanced his reputation in the eyes of Kenya's white settlers, who played an important part in maintaining the former president's fame and reputation in the years to come as East Africa's sportsman and safari hunter *par excellence*. During his visit, Roosevelt had made a number of speeches and social visits in which he hailed the achievements of the British colonial experiment in East Africa. "English rule in Africa," the former president later wrote,

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[400] Lord Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making: Or, Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 236.
[401] Frederick Jackson, *Early Days in East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1930), p. 381.

recycling the phrasing of his speeches, "has been of incalculable benefit to Africans."[402] Roosevelt called the Englishmen leading the country "a fine set," comparable to American empire-builders in the American West and the Philippines, and remarked that they were "doing in East Africa a work of worth for the whole world."[403] "Progress and development in this particular kind of new land depend exclusively upon the masterful leadership of the whites," he added.[404] Roosevelt spent part of his safari as a guest at Equator Ranch with Lord Delamere, a prominent settler and firebrand leader of the white community, and was captivated by Delamere's personality and views. Roosevelt adopted Delamere's famous (or infamous) conviction that "the highlands of East Africa form a white man's country, and the prime need is to build up a large, healthy population of true white settlers, white homemakers, who shall take the land as an inheritance for their children's children."[405]

These sentiments may have been received with mixed feelings in the United States, where masculine jingoism was then competing with traditional American notions of anti-imperialism. Yet they secured for Roosevelt a lasting place in the hearts of East Africa's safari fraternity, which thereafter kept alive the heroics of the former president. "We all thought Teddy Roosevelt a hell of a guy," wrote Philip Percival, who accompanied the Roosevelt safari as an assistant guide and later became known as the "dean of the white hunters."

> He was a heavily built man [Percival continued] but very powerful and active and he had the advantage over many visiting sportsmen in that he had learned to ride, shoot, and hunt in his own country – the west – and was a practiced performer in all three, a terrific advantage indeed. I often compared him in my own mind with Cecil Rhodes. Both were strong men, men of tremendous vision, and both were Empire Builders, and each in his different way made a lasting impression on the history of his time.[406]

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[402] Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1909), p. 120.
[403] Ibid, p. 5.
[404] Ibid, p. 9.
[405] Ibid, p. 431.
[406] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Reprint: Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 29.

John McCutcheon agreed that "Col. Roosevelt has become a popular idol in East Africa," and "everywhere one meets Englishmen who express the greatest admiration for him."[407]

Much of the publicity outside East Africa came not from journalists but straight from the pen of Theodore Roosevelt himself. The stories he published in *Scribner's Magazine,* and later in *African Game Trails,* contain exciting accounts of his hunts, romantic reflections on the life of adventure in the wilds of Africa, and vivid descriptions of the land, people, and wildlife. For most Americans and others in the English-speaking world, the book provided the first extended introduction to the sporting possibilities of East Africa. For white settlers in East Africa and those involved in the safari industry, the book said exactly what they wanted the outside world to know. East Africa's white settlers had found in Roosevelt an American they actually liked, who brought tremendous business to the country, who gave the fledgling colony favorable press, and who provided a widely known and celebrated example of how to undertake a proper safari. The publicity and prestige of Roosevelt's African adventures brought a windfall of business to the East Africa safari industry and provided a perfect source of publicity and future advertisement, exploited to promote the business right up to the present day.[408] As Robert Foran noted, Roosevelt's safari "brought the Protectorate a mass of invaluable free publicity… [and] was chiefly responsible for attracting… many keen sportsmen from almost every corner of the world."[409] Or, as one of Roosevelt's biographers put it: "[B]ecause of TR's

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[407] John T. McCutcheon, "With McCutcheon in Africa: Seeing Nairobi," *Dallas Morning News* (30 January 1910), p. 2. Reprinted from *The Chicago Tribune*.

[408] Today, a U.S.-based company, Donald Young Safaris, Ltd., has not only purchased the original Newland and Tarlton brand, but also offers luxury tented safaris in East Africa that seek to replicate the experience of Theodore Roosevelt. http://www.donaldyoungsafaris.com/

[409] Quoted in Charles Miller, *The Lunatic Express: An Entertainment in Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1971; New York: Penguin, 2001), pp. 514-15.

popularity, Americans followed [his safari] in *Scribner's* with the kind of intensity with which their descendants watched the first human voyage to the moon."[410]

Writers typically grant Roosevelt sole credit for popularizing the East Africa safari, but others at the same time exerted a perceptible influence of their own kind. Among those in the field at the time of the Roosevelt safari was Carl Akeley, a famous American taxidermist sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History. It would be difficult by any standard to classify Akeley as a "tourist," but his museum-sponsored expeditions brought large amounts of business to the safari industry, employed many porters and African assistants, and brought publicity to East Africa's land and wildlife by taking specimens back home for others to enjoy. Akeley had taken two previous expeditions in East Africa, the first in 1896 with Daniel G. Eliot, the curator of zoology at the Field Museum of Chicago, and the second in 1905, also for the Field Museum, when he came into contact with Newland and Tarlton and contracted their services in what Akeley claimed was their first venture into the business.[411] Akeley, who met Roosevelt in 1906, also claimed credit for persuading the president to hunt in Africa following his presidency.[412] Whether the claim is true or not, Akeley's voice undoubtedly joined a chorus of experts who agreed that East Africa was the home of the world's finest big-game hunting as well as the most abundant and varied wildlife. His expeditions reinforced this idea. Akeley's safari in 1909 was taken on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History and became his longest and most ambitious yet. He stayed for two years, studying elephants, lions, and other animals in their natural habitats as preparation for the museum displays he would create upon his return.

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[410] Patricia O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), p. 45.
[411] Carl E. Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1920), pp. 10-18.
[412] Ibid, p. 159.

One of the things that distinguished Akeley's work was his insistence that good taxidermy required time spent in the field. Whereas a lesser taxidermist or museum curator would have commissioned animal specimens to be collected by a professional hunter in a distant locale and sent back to a metropolitan museum, Akeley went to Africa himself and spent many months in the field in the company of artists, botanists, and natural historians. He placed great emphasis on creating dioramas that exhibited accurate mountings of each animal, showing a variety of lifelike forms, movements, and expressions. He likewise strived to create "scientific" representations of their surroundings and habitats, from trees and grass to mountains and streams, even the behavior and social habits of the wildlife. Observation and first-hand experience became essential to his projects. A thorough undertaking of this kind obviously required a great deal of time in the wilds of Africa in order to capture realistic images of animal life that he believed was fast disappearing from the earth.[413]

The scrupulous care that Akeley put into his detailed, accurate scenes of African wildlife translated into a corresponding influence back home. "When I got back from Africa in 1911," he wrote, "I was dreaming of a great African Hall which would combine all the advances that had been made in taxidermy and the arts of museum exhibition and at the same time would make a permanent record of the fast-disappearing wildlife of that most interesting animal kingdom, Africa."[414] The Akeley Hall of African Mammals, as it was named, envisioned a vast hall with groups of African animals mounted in lifelike forms, with backgrounds painted from the country itself, an "everlasting monument to the Africa that was, the Africa that is now fast disappearing," all centered on a group of elephants placed at the

[413] An excellent socio-cultural discussion of Akeley's work, and his connection to Theodore Roosevelt, is provided in Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," *Social Text,* No. 11 (Winter, 1984-85), pp. 20-64.
[414] Ibid, p. 19.

center.[415] To this day, over a century later, the Akeley Hall is a signature attraction at the American Museum of Natural History, containing many of the original animal mounts. Its meticulously painted backgrounds showcase actual locales in East Africa with stunning realism, even down to the shadows and light seen at particular times of the day.

For millions of visitors over the decades, the Akeley African Hall showcased the first, the most evocative, and the most stunning scenes of African wildlife available in realistic diorama displays. In this sense, such museum displays function as a kind of instrument of advertising and publicity for the allures of Africa, comparable to glossy *National Geographic* photographs and present-day BBC nature documentaries in the interest they generated among the public. Coming at the tail end of the "natural history craze," these museum exhibits captivated the public, became the object of tourist ventures and school field-trips, and coupled memorable scenes with reliable information. The museum displays that resulted from the work of Carl Akeley and other museum-sponsored expeditions thus transported the exotic fauna and flora of Africa to audiences in metropolitan museums across the world, where potential tourists might chance upon a small bronze placard detailing the origin of the specimen and the safari firms involved in its collection. Large safari firms like Newland and Tarlton, which could enlist large amounts of labor and organize complex and long-lasting expeditions, naturally loomed large in this line of natural history work.

As if it was not enough for East Africa to host major safaris in 1909 by the most famous American sportsman-conservationist and the most famous American taxidermist, the same year saw a third high-profile safari undertaken by William D. Boyce, a prominent American publisher, newspaper man, and soon-to-be founder of the Boy Scouts of America, who set out in 1909 to photograph East Africa's wildlife and scenery from a balloon. Boyce admitted in

[415] Ibid, pp. 54-55.

the preface of his book that the balloon expedition in 1909 was motivated by the quest for a good story for his main newspaper, Chicago's *Saturday Blade,* whose circulation had become the largest of any weekly paper in the United States by 1892.[416] "I realized that Colonel Roosevelt, at the time of his trip, had centered the world's attention on Africa and big game shooting," Boyce wrote later, in 1925.

> I had to add something new to shooting and photographing if my expedition was to compete with the Colonel's in challenging public interest, so I took into Africa balloons from which to photograph the wild life of jungles and plains. Pictures from the air were new at that time and the spectacular character of the undertaking made it excellent newspaper copy.[417]

Boyce's Balloonograph Expedition, as it was known, became almost as large as Roosevelt's, employing some 400 porters at its peak.[418] Boyce worked with four different photographers, including the aerial photographer George R. Lawrence, and contracted the safari with Newland and Tarlton. Bill Judd served as one of Boyce's guides in the field.[419] After some balloon trials in Nairobi, including the first human flights over East Africa, Boyce began to work with a single balloon. Unable to control the balloon's movements from the air, he planned to tether the balloon to a mule that would drag it toward herds of wild animals. Quite apart from the comic imagery of the endeavor, the plan was entirely infeasible. Even Boyce admitted that "the exhibition from the air was a failure on account of the nature of the country."[420] The brush and timber were too thick. Wind and air currents from the valley caused such swaying and vibration that the cameras could not capture a clear image. The sight of a large white balloon hovering a few hundred feet above the ground stampeded wild animals with expected regularity. On one occasion, according to a story that may be apocryphal, an

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[416] William D. Boyce, *Illustrated Africa: North, Tropical, South* (Chicago, New York: Rand McNally, 1925), p. vii.
[417] Ibid, p. vii.
[418] Ibid, p. 491.
[419] Ibid, p. 434.
[420] Ibid, p. 491.

especially strong thermal current lifted the balloon and mule (no passengers, one presumes) into the air and carried them toward the escarpment, never to be seen again.[421] Following the attempt with balloons, even a game drive organized to push a herd of animals past the cameras ended in complete failure, after which "the white guides offered to resign and the porters took a day off."[422]

Despite these failures, however, Boyce made the best of his opportunities to achieve good press, proving the journalistic principle that even failures make good stories as long as the protagonists fail with panache. Large crowds of locals and excited photographers gathered around each time the balloons took to the air, gasping with excitement with every gust of wind. The balloons temporarily became the talk of the town. Boyce also took advantage of the attention fixed upon his venture by showing several motion pictures in Nairobi for charity and was warmly received by locals.[423] Boyce reported later that his balloon expedition and other exclusive, illustrated stories of distant locales raised the circulation of *The Blade* to 300,000 copies per issue.[424]

The size and duration of these safaris obviously accounted for a large amount of business on their own and contributed handsomely to the fortunes of Newland and Tarlton and other East African safari outfitters. Yet the principal effect of these three safaris, as far as the dynamics of the safari tourism industry are concerned, was to generate significant and long-lasting publicity for East Africa and the attractions it offered to the visitor, inspiring many others to follow. It was hardly an accident that one of the finest museum displays of wildlife

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[421] Charles Miller, *The Lunatic Express: An Entertainment in Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1971; New York: Penguin, 2001), pp. 514-15.
[422] William D. Boyce, *Illustrated Africa: North, Tropical, South* (Chicago, New York: Rand McNally, 1925), p. 494.
[423] John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1910), p. 55.
[424] William D. Boyce, *Illustrated Africa: North, Tropical, South* (Chicago, New York: Rand McNally, 1925), p. vii.

in the world, the Akeley African Hall, used specimens collected in one of the finest wildlife locales in the world, and the point was driven home to every visitor to the museum. The Roosevelt-Smithsonian safari likewise piqued the interest of many potential visitors through its contributions to museums and natural history attractions. Boyce added publicity in his own modest ways, reaching especially a rural audience in the American Midwest in the issues of the *Saturday Blade*. Above all, of course, it was Theodore Roosevelt himself who brought the greatest publicity to East Africa's safari tourism industry. Quite apart from the fact that a popular American president chose to celebrate the (intended) end of his political career with a safari in East Africa, the country's natural attractions enjoyed a literary spokesman in Roosevelt that was not matched again until the time of Ernest Hemingway, Karen Blixen (Isak Dinesen), and Beryl Markham in the 1930s and 1940s.[425]

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The effect of this intense safari activity in 1909-10, then, was drastically to increase the number of hunters visiting East Africa. As we have already seen, the increase of license sales did not accrue wholly to the category of the Sportsman's License, for the year 1909 brought an expansion of categories to include also a license for the Traveller. As Table 1 shows, the number of Sportsman's Licenses increased only marginally following the Roosevelt safari, from 116 to 124, and thereafter declined over the next few years back to double digits. The main growth of the industry accrued to the Traveller's License, which increased from 72 in 1909, to 234 in 1910, to 356 in 1911, and to 440 in 1912, before declining somewhat to 423 in 1913. So great was this expansion of the tourist trade that the Game Department came to expect it and offered commentary on the few years that license sales declined. The Game Warden considered, for example, that the decline of Sportsman License sales in 1911 resulted

[425] For the principal works of these authors relating to East Africa, see: Ernest Hemingway, *The Green Hills of Africa* (New York: Scribner, 1935, 1963); Isak Dinesen, *Out of Africa* (New York, 1937); Beryl Markham, *West With the Night* (New York, 1942).

in part from the Coronation Durbar in India, which he believed had "attracted to India many visitors, some of whom would probably otherwise have come to British East Africa."[426] Later, in 1913, he could only attribute the decline to the gathering war clouds in Europe. "It must be remembered," the Game Warden wrote, "that big game hunters, as a rule, come from a comparatively limited class, i.e. rich people, and it is possible that the Balkan War and the general uneasiness which it caused on the Continent may have induced… a certain number of sportsmen to remain at home."[427]

The shift toward the Traveller's License resulted not only from its excellent value in comparison with the Sportsman's License, but also from external developments related to the wider history of the country. The Traveller's License found its greatest appeal among visiting sportsman who wished to hunt on private land, where they could shoot the same animals offered on the Sportsman's License so long as they had permission from the landowner. With each passing year between 1909 and the outbreak of the War, more land was sold by government to private settlers, and with this transfer of ownership came a massive expansion of the opportunities for excellent sport on private as opposed to public land.

Even considering Traveller's and Sportsman's Licenses together produces figures merely in the hundreds, not in the thousands, much less in the millions. Although these figures may seem trifling by comparison with the age of mass tourism, it must be remembered that safaris in these early days were immense, long-lasting, and tremendously expensive undertakings, often reaching as much as £2,000 (occasionally more), a price equivalent to

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426 "Annual Report of Game Warden, 1910-11 & 1911-12" (R.B. Woosnam), Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

427 "Annual Report of the Game Warden, 1913-14" (R.B. Woosnam), Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

hundreds of thousands of pounds today.[428] The Roosevelt-Smithsonian expedition, perhaps the most elaborate and expensive safari ever taken, appears to have cost between $60,000 (£12,000) and $85,000 (£17,000) all told, equivalent to several million dollars today. Natural history expeditions like Carl Akeley's, which accounted for a large but difficult to quantify portion of the safari industry's business, were not even typically required to take out a Sportsman's Licenses, since the Commissioner could grant, "for scientific or administrative reasons," a special license to kill or capture animals. Such expenditures are therefore not counted in the estimates here for practical reasons despite the windfall of business they provided.

What tourist safaris lacked in numbers they made up for in length and expense. Most proper safaris lasted between two and six months — 100 days was a recommended length — and employed many dozens, sometimes hundreds, of indigenous employees. The number of visitors seems rather small at a few hundred per annum until it is realized how long they stayed in the country, how much they spent, and how many employees they engaged. Moreover, safari activity tended to be concentrated to a few prime months each year owing to the monsoonal rains that come to East Africa twice annually: from late March through May, and later from late October to December. Most hunters avoided the country during the rains and

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[428] This figure is based primarily on the estimates of Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," 152-155. Many accounts written in the early twentieth century provide the estimate of £1,000 for the approximate total cost of transport to East Africa and a safari lasting several months, but many safaris were longer, larger, and more expensive. The conversion to present-day values is based on the currency calculator created by Lawrence Officer, Professor of Economics at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and Samuel Williamson, Emeritus Professor of Economics at Miami University. Because the relative values of different goods and services change over time in relation to the value of a currency, converting past currencies to present values is notoriously difficult and varies according to the desired indices of economic value. The *real price* of a commodity worth £2,000 in 1912 is equivalent to about £167,700 today. The *labor value* of that commodity is equivalent to about £678,200. The *economic status* of that wealth, meaning the prestige value of £2,000 compared to the contemporary per-capita GDP, is equivalent to about £941,700. Since the bundle of goods and services used to undertake a safari in 1912 relates to multiple indices of economic value, it is impossible to arrive at a definite estimate, but the values stated above do nevertheless indicate the extraordinary expense of a safari in East Africa. See <http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php> [Accessed March 23, 2014].

tended to delay their arrival until a month or so later because of the high humidity, active insect life, muddy roads, and tall growth that followed the deluge. This means that, in practice, there were two windows each year during the dry seasons, each about three or four months long, when the best hunting could be enjoyed.

Nairobi and the highlands quite expectedly buzzed with activity during the peak hunting months. The spectacle of so many safari caravans marching out of Nairobi, disappearing over the horizon in long, dusty lines of men laden with supplies, made a powerful impression on observers. Commentators were well aware that this safari industry possessed tremendous economic value, but they could only guess at its actual scale. Abel Chapman proclaimed in 1908 that wild fauna was "a chief asset of our East African colony," and the big-game hunter "its most profitable customer."[429] One British official, explaining East Africa's economic situation to his superiors in London in 1905, made a case for the economic importance of the safari trade without being able to explain or quantify it in detail: "A feature [of the East African economy]… which tends to bring a certain amount of money into the country," he wrote, "is the advent of European sportsmen and tourists. East Africa has an attraction to this class of traveller perhaps second to that of no other country in the world."[430] Barton Hepburn, an American tourist, agreed that "the safari is prominent among the industries [of British East Africa] and is one of the principal means of obtaining revenue from other countries."[431] The wealthy visitors, the large contingents of safari workers, the numerous packages to be carried into the bush, and the long duration of most hunting expeditions made

[429] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 4.
[430] Unsigned, *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740], p. 19.
[431] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 36.

it obvious that large outlays of money were involved. The observer did not need to weigh the gold to know that the treasure held great value.

Estimating the precise expenditure of visiting hunters is a rather more difficult task and must rely on a degree of inference from scattered, fragmentary, and occasionally contradictory evidence. Although we know how many Sportsman's and Traveller's licenses were sold, we do not know exactly how many of them were "tourists," nor how long they stayed in the country, nor how much they spent. There are natural impediments to extrapolating general conclusions from this incomplete and fragmentary evidence. Expenses varied considerably according to the requirements of the individual hunters, the length of time they stayed in the country, and the degree of luxury they desired. Moreover, safari companies did not charge one-off prices that are easy to trace and tabulate. Rather, the costs were broken down into discrete charges for different services: a fixed charge per worker engaged on safari; a price for the services of a "white hunter," which varied according to his experience and reputation and the duties required of him by the tourist; a certain commission on the visitor's whole account; a prearranged fee for supplying, storing, and shipping a specified quantity of goods; and various other prices depending on the kind and volume of services desired by the visitor. No economic assessments of the early safari industry, therefore, can satisfy the scholar accustomed to the thorough and straightforward trade statistics produced by government departments.

Yet although the evidence does not allow us to reach any precise conclusions about the economic value of the safari industry, it is nevertheless possible to estimate its approximate value by analyzing the numbers of tourists against the probable expenses incurred by each visiting hunter. The discussion that follows is based on several authoritative cost estimates offered by contemporaries who possessed intimate knowledge of the safari industry, with each category of hunting license being analyzed on different terms. In general, it can be assumed that holders of the expensive Sportsman's License were the type that spared no expense and

outfitted their safari in the "proper" way recommended by experts, while holders of the inexpensive Traveller's License tended to be budget-conscious hunters or visiting acquaintances of local settlers, who spent a certain amount of money on their hunts but generally tried to keep costs to a minimum. The first cost estimate, therefore, applied to holders of the Sportsman's License, derives from the assessment's R.J. Cunninghame, a prominent guide for Newland and Tarlton, who published a widely read article in a 1912 guidebook on the approximate costs of a proper safari. The second cost estimate, applied to the inexpensive Traveller's License, is based on the figures given by Edward Bennet, whose 1913 book on the subject sought to provide guidance for the do-it-yourself hunter on a budget.

In the absence of comprehensive and reliable data about the early safari industry, the cost estimates presented here attempt to strike as close as possible to the true value of the industry. It must be remembered, when considering these economic assessments, that safaris during the period between 1900 to 1914 probably reached the highest relative costs in the history of East Africa's tourism industry, partly because of the expense of transoceanic travel at this time, partly because of the costs of human porterage in the pre-automobile age, and partly because the slow rate of travel required any intending sportsman to spend many weeks in the field, with all the demands this placed on the food and provisions needed to maintain an expedition in remote hunting grounds at a certain level of luxury for extended periods of time. Because the exact value of the safari industry cannot be established one way or another, it is best to lay the facts before the reader to the extent they are known, to indicate the costs described by contemporaries, and then to judge the probable expenditures for each type of license category.

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The most authoritative estimates for the cost of a luxury safari prior to 1914 were given by R.J. Cunninghame, a professional hunter employed by Newland and Tarlton, in an article

written in 1912 for Ward and Milligan's *Handbook of East Africa*.[432] Cunninghame's estimates apply best to holders of the Sportsman License, who in general were members of the elite class of visiting hunters who spared no expense and hired a safari company to organize and oversee their safaris. The reasons for selecting Cunninghame's estimates over the dozens of others offered in the contemporary hunting literature are much the same as those that led Ward and Milligan to solicit an article from him in the first place. Cunninghame was as well placed as any man could have been to judge the costs of an East African safari in the years prior to the outbreak of the First World War. He possessed intimate knowledge of the inner workings of Newland and Tarlton and of the safari trade as a whole. He became among the first and most prominent professional hunters of his time, valued as a guide because of his extensive knowledge of East Africa and its wildlife. It was a bonus for the visitor that Cunninghame was a gentleman – a true social equal – in an occupation whose clientele before the War consisted primarily of English gentleman.

[432] H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913).

Illustration 23: R.J. Cunninghame in a 1909 photograph taken by Kermit Roosevelt.[433]

Although Cunninghame sported a large beard and looked every bit the part of a wild frontiersman, he was Cambridge educated, well connected, wrote frequently for the English press, made a popular guest during his social rounds in England, and acquired great fame as a

[433] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This image was published in a 1920 volume of Theodore Roosevelt's *African Game Trails*.

result of becoming in 1909 Theodore Roosevelt's much-admired "white hunter." Ward and Milligan considered Cunninghame not only knowledgeable about the industry but also a reliable source of information, perhaps the finest professional guide in East Africa. The contemporary opinion of Cunninghame, repeated in countless client memoirs, is reflected by A. Barton Hepburn's tribute in 1913:

> Cunninghame is *sui generic* among sportsmen — a Cambridge man, a naturalist and acknowledged authority, an expert in all the arts of woodcraft and plains craft, a genius in the preservation of trophies, a persistent, indefatigable worker, deeply interested in all he does and keenly solicitous to give you the best of opportunities, possessing wonderfully pleasing personality, and yet modest and unassuming withal.[434]

Cunninghame's estimates of the cost of a safari are also the most detailed of any given for the pre-1914 period, and they are corroborated by other independent estimates offered around the same time. In addition to all of this, there are good logical reasons for believing that Cunninghame's estimates were accurate to the best of his knowledge — that he did not, in other words, bend the facts to suit his interests. Publicizing cost estimates that were too high would discourage visiting hunters from taking the trip to East Africa, or it would drive potential clients to other outfitting firms offering prices much lower than those claimed by Cunninghame and his employer, Newland and Tarlton. Publicizing costs lower than reality, conversely, could result in much balking and possibly unfavorable publicity when it was discovered, upon arrival in Africa, that Newland and Tarlton presumed to charge higher fees than the client had been led to believe by one of its esteemed guides.

"Roughly speaking," Cunninghame wrote, "a hunting safari for a single individual works out at about £100 per month, but it is to be remembered that this is exclusive of a £50 Sportsman's License, horses or mules, service of a white hunter, and, furthermore, it would not

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[434] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 40.

cover the expenses of trips made into remote districts."[435] This sum included tent and camp equipment, personal food (including tinned provisions), boxes, gear, axes, rope, and various other odds and ends supplied by outfitting firms. In addition to the Sportsman's license for £50, the professional white hunter commanded a salary of £40 to £75 per month (sometimes more), and few visitors went without. The price for a mule averaged about £30, while horses commanded about £50 each, although both could only be used on a limited basis owing to disease.[436] Cunninghame also suggested that, in most cases, each safari should hire one head-man to govern the caravan, an English-speaking tent boy, a cook, two gun bearers, and possibly two askaris to defend the caravan. These specialized jobs typically required wages of about Rs. 30 (£2) per month exclusive of their personal kit and daily rations.

Finally, of course, there was the cost of porters, one of the largest expenses of a safari prior to the advent of the motorcar. Cunninghame estimated that a one-man hunting safari lasting three months required about 30 porters at wages of Rs. 10 (13s. 4d) per month per porter.[437] Abel Chapman agreed: "Presuming that it is intended to penetrate some distance back from the railway, a force of at least thirty to forty porters, or upwards, will be required."[438] Added to this were the costs of feeding and supplying the porters, which required provision of a blanket and a water bottle for each man, several tents to accommodate six men each, and a cooking pot for the group. Cunninghame thought the total cost for porters should run about £1 per month for each porter (perhaps slightly less thereafter when game meat could be obtained

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[435] R.J. Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," in *Handbook of East Africa,* H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan (London: Sifton Praed & Co., 1912, 1913), p. 152.

[436] Cunninghame himself did not comment on the price of horses and mules, but others did around the same time, with almost identical estimates. See Percy C. Madeira, *Hunting in British East Africa*. With a Foreword by Frederick Courteney Selous (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1909), p. 23; and Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 18.

[437] The price was confirmed in the Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967).

[438] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 284.

for food), amounting to about £30 each month to employ the number of porters he thought necessary for a typical safari.[439] Finally, as Cunninghame explained:

> To a sportsman at home endeavoring to estimate the cost of a shooting trip he must bear in mind his steamboat expenses and his railway expenses on the Uganda Railway; also the expenses incurred handling and packing, case-making, insuring, railing and shipping his collection of trophies from Nairobi to his home. An estimate of these probable expenses is impossible to give for obvious reasons — that no two shooters require or bring back the same quantity or bulk of specimens.[440]

Not all of these expenditures ended up in the East African economy, of course. Money spent on steamship and railway fares, imported supplies, some taxidermy (depending on whether it was done in Nairobi or London), and other items went to commercial enterprises outside Africa. Expenditures on porters, other African labor, guides, outfitter commissions, licenses, hotels, and locally obtained supplies, meanwhile, ended up feeding into the local cash economy.

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[439] R.J. Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," in *Handbook of East Africa,* H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan (London: Sifton Praed & Co., 1912, 1913), p. 152.
[440] Ibid, p. 155.

Item	Cost Per Month (£)[441]	Total for 3 Month Safari
Sportsman's License	£50*	£50
Special License for Elephant	£10 (plus £20 for second license)*	£10
Professional Hunter and Guide	£58 (mean)	£174 (mean)
Supplies and Outfitter Fees 30 porters (£1 each); head-man (£2); tent boy (£2); cook (£2); 2 gun-bearers (£2 each); 2 askaris (£2 each); misc. fees and supplies, including tents, camp equipment, etc (£56)	£100	£300
Horses or mules (4)	£150*	£150
Single 1st Class Railway Fare, Mombasa to Nairobi[442]	£6*	£6
Steamship Fare (1st class round-trip from London)	£72*	£72
Shipping of Trophies and Supplies	£22*	£22
Preservation, Handling, and Mounting of Trophies	£175*	£175
Total	£643	£959

Table 2: R.J. Cunninghame's Estimated Costs of a Luxury Safari, circa 1912.[443]

Cunninghame's estimates for the cost of a safari are shown in the table above. Several of the figures represent one-time costs that were paid regardless of how long the safari lasted, such as license fees, payment for horses and mules (which could be resold, if they survived the tsetse fly)[444], and steamship fares.[445] Preservation and mounting of trophies also represented

[441] Throughout the period under review, one British pound sterling (£) equaled 15 rupees (transcribed Rs. 15). One pound sterling was equivalent to twenty shillings.

[442] The figure of $15 (£3) fare each way is provided by A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 106.

[443] Ibid, pp. 155-156. The asterisk represents a one-time cost, except in extenuating circumstances.

[444] The estimate given here is the purchase price for four horses or mules, whose prices started as low as £18 each and ranged upward, to accommodate the client, his guide, and the two gun-bearers who would accompany them into the field. The figure given thus represents the lowest possible cost if animals were to be used. If the animals survived the safari, they could be resold for a similar price. See H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan, *Handbook of British East Africa* (London: Sifton Praed & Co., Ltd., 1912, 1913), p. 50.

[444] The figure of $15 (£3) fare each way is provided by A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 106.

[445] This rate was quoted by several different steamship companies embarking from London. Travel from New York would have added yet more expense. See Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914), p. 248. Roosevelt in 1909 was offered accommodations aboard the Hamburg-Amerika Line worth $2,100 (£420), but rode for the bargain rate of $600 (£120). Patricia

a one-time cost, but the expenses could vary considerably depending upon the client's bag.[446] Then came the charges for items billed under what Newland and Tarlton called the "Monthly Contract Safari System,"[447] totaling about £158 per month per gun in the field, which turns out to align with Cunninghame's estimate of £100 per month plus the mean cost of the white hunter. By comparison, an Assistant District Commissioner entering the Kenya service before the war could expect the unusually high annual base salary of £250.[448]

The figures are calculated on the basis of a three-month safari because, in fact, that was a typical amount of time spent in the field for the higher class of visitor in the days of the foot safari before 1914. It took several weeks simply to march from Nairobi to the good hunting lands, and several weeks back. No less than five or six weeks would be needed for travel alone. Seven weeks was considered to be the minimum amount of time needed for a shooting safari — a length of time feasible, for example, if the tourist took a trip through the Thika-Tana district that Cunninghame recommended for short safaris. If the trip was extended to Nyeri, it "will at least double the time involved in the expedition," making it no less than four months

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O'Toole, *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt after the White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), p. 34. The cost of shipping trophies was rarely, if ever, mentioned in contemporary accounts and is an extrapolation, most likely erring on the low side. Edward Bennet (ever frugal) stated that the cost of passage return and voyage expenses together were about £100. Since we know that the steamship fare was £72 and railway fares £6, this leaves £22 to account for the cost of shipping boxes of trophies to the home destination. It is likely that the true cost of packing and shipping trophies was much higher than £22, but confirming this presumption awaits the discovery of more evidence. See Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1914), p. 296.

[446] The figure of £175 given here is derived from a series of transaction records between Rowland Ward, a prominent London taxidermist, and Alfred A. Benitz, a client of Newland and Tarlton who took a safari between October and December of 1910. Benitz killed about 90 animals, including most of the species coveted by visiting sportsmen, and had a wide selection of them mounted. Photo reproductions of the actual invoices from Rowland Ward, along with Benitz's register of trophies, is available on a family website at <http://www.benitz.com/BzAlfred1859_Diaries/BzAA1859_Safari1910b.html> [Accessed October 1, 2014].

[447] Newland, Tarlton, and Co. Advertising Pamphlet, "British East Africa" (1908), Reel 84, Theodore Roosevelt Papers [Microform] (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967).

[448] Charles Miller, *The Lunatic Express: An Entertainment in Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1971; New York: Penguin, 2001), p. 444.

long.[449] A trip along the border of German East Africa, where Cunninghame found the shooting "very good and varied," took about two months.[450] An expedition to the northern districts required at least three months. One hundred days was a recommended length for most safari visitors who wanted to make the most of their trips and see the full range of wildlife and scenic attractions. Dedicated visiting sportsmen would stay in the field for five or six months, occasionally even longer, usually spending the rainy seasons in the drier, northern regions of the territory.

In truth, as Cunninghame explained in his article, safaris varied widely in length and expense. When A. Barton Hepburn and a friend took a safari with Newland and Tarlton before the First World War, they stayed in the field for only 38 days (seventeen trekking and twenty-one hunting), but the caravan numbered about 120 members at its peak including all the indigenous employees and porters.[451] One of Hepburn's other companions, Lyman Hine, embarked on a separate but simultaneous safari near the border of Tanganyika, employing only about 40 Africans, but he was assisted by four mules and two ox-carts, drawn by sixteen oxen.[452] Hepburn's safari was therefore large but also short. He reported afterwards that the total expense, "from my arrival in Nairobi until my departure for home [excluding travel to and from Africa], was slightly under two thousand dollars [about £400], lessened, undoubtedly, because of the fact that I had a partner" to share the expenses.[453] Hepburn's share of the two guides was $525 (approximately £105), which he found to be "an excellent investment."[454]

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[449] R.J. Cunninghame, "Big Game Shooting," in *Handbook of East Africa,* H.F. Ward and J.W. Milligan (London: Sifton Praed & Co., 1912, 1913), p. 145.
[450] Ibid, p. 147.
[451] A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), pp. 40, 86.
[452] Ibid, p. 96.
[453] Ibid, p. 106.
[454] Ibid, pp. 106-07.

Hepburn's comments about the necessity of a professional guide were, in fact, fairly representative of the attitude held by most visiting hunters who came to the country with little experience of Africa but wanted to make the most of the trip. "If you have a large safari," he wrote, "someone who can speak the native language is indispensable to handle it; an experienced man will save money and trouble, especially in view of the labor complications now obtaining" — by which he meant the difficulty of obtaining African laborers, a challenge largely mitigated by employing a safari firm like Newland and Tarlton, which held pre-existing contracts with reliable and experienced workers.[455] The professional guides and head-men, of course, were essential to manage the other African employees.

> [T]hey do their business systematically and well, look after their safaris painstakingly and most efficiently, and that is a service for which one can afford to pay… It is cheaper to pay a guide than pay for your own blunders… In many ways the expense may be toned down, but hunting in Africa is a luxury and should be so treated; the experience you have and the trophies you get make it worth many ordinary vacations; economize on the ordinary vacations and save up for this one.[456]

It may well be true that some holders of the Sportsman's License took inexpensive "budget" safaris, but these few must be balanced against a probably much larger number of long and expensive safaris when estimating the value of the industry. Even Edward Bennet, who sought every economy and cut every possible expense (as we shall see momentarily), stayed in the field for six months. He also reported that he "met one safari which was spending £1,000 per month in the field," and indeed such a lavish expedition was not uncommon.[457] The point is that, even though some safaris were probably short and inexpensive, others were long and very costly indeed. In the estimates provided here, the two are balanced against each other in the calculation of an average figure. In general, therefore, we can assume that a significant number of safari visitors, especially the kind that became clients of Newland and Tarlton,

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[455] Ibid, p. 106.
[456] Ibid, pp. 105-07.
[457] Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914), p. 296.

undertook safaris lasting about three months. Taking this figure of the three-month safari as typical and multiplying it by the costs Cunninghame indicates yields a total cost of around £1,000 for each safari undertaken by a tourist hunter. Roosevelt's lavish safari, of course, cost about a dozen times this figure.

* * *

This study follows a similar methodology to estimate the expenditures of visitors who purchased the Traveller's License, again based on a degree of inference in the absence of more reliable data. As we have already seen, this analysis assumes that the Traveller's License went to a class of visiting hunter seeking to spare expenses wherever possible. It is true, of course, that some holders of the Traveller's License probably took safaris every bit as luxurious as their counterparts on the Sportsman's License, but in general it is reasonable to suppose that their expenditures were lower. Several factors probably held down the cost of safaris for those on the Traveller's License. First, its duration was limited to one month, reducing not only time spent in the field, but also the scale of the safari. Second, because its stipulations required visitors to shoot game on private land, it is probable that some of these licenses were sold to relatives, friends, and acquaintances of white settlers, who wished to do some shooting during their visits to the colony. Even if some visiting friends and acquaintances tried to spare every expense, the demands of cross-country travel required them to employ porters and obtain equipment even for short-term casual hunts. The remainder, of course, consisted of visitors who hunted private land purely as a business transaction with the owner.

The most reliable set of estimates for the inexpensive East African safari – a safari of the kind probably taken by those on a Traveller's License – were provided by Edward Bennet, an Indian Civil Servant who had experience hunting in India and visited British East Africa toward the end of 1912. Bennet published an account of his experience with the intention of providing a guidebook for those who wished to enjoy an East African safari on a budget. He

believed that existing guidebooks and information available to the public, aimed at the wealthiest class of sportsmen, tended to exaggerate the importance of outfitters, safari agents, and professional guides, so he sought instead to organize an expedition by himself. Bennet expressed great disdain for all aspects of East Africa's safari industry, and considered nearly every service offered to be a gimmick contrived by wily natives or greedy safari agents. "White hunters are a luxury for wealthy sportsmen, as they charge from £50 to £90 (and even £150) a month," he sneered, but were hardly necessary for those like him with experience in colonial lands.[458] The professional headman was a "scoundrel supplied by the safari agents."[459] "By a vicious custom," he continued, "a second gun-boy is sometimes thrust upon you."[460] Askaris, who protected the caravan from marauders and wild animals, were "absolutely unnecessary, and to see sportsmen imposed on in this way is a cause of much embarrassment to people living in the country."[461] Porters were "expensive and troublesome to feed," while beasts of burden continually died from disease. In sum, Bennet argued, nearly all the innovations of the East African safari industry were unnecessary if the hunter possessed some degree of experience combined with the pluck and toughness of a British Indian soldier like himself.

As we shall see momentarily, Bennet would, in the end, face extraordinary difficulties owing to this attitude of casual dismissal. More importantly for the present discussion, his savings were more modest than he led the reader to believe. What is striking about Bennet's estimates of the costs of a safari is how little they differ from those provided by Cunninghame, except in a few key categories. The principal reason is that there was a limit on how cheaply a safari could be conducted prior to the First World War. Travel by foot required sportsmen to employ porters and other African assistants, and to stay in the field for weeks at a time, each

458 Ibid, p. 263.
459 Ibid, pp. 251-252.
460 Ibid, p. 254.
461 Ibid, p. 257.

entailing unavoidable costs. Steamship and railway fares, license fees, rifles, taxidermy, food, tents, supplies, and virtually all expenses involved were set at fixed prices that could only be shaved to a small extent. The same unavoidable costs attended to the burdens of transporting trophies from the field and shipping them back home. Without cameras as an alternative to the hunt, and without automobiles to make the excursions fast and easy, the costs of safaris inevitably stayed above a certain level.

When it is all boiled down, Edward Bennet, who sneered at the excesses of the safari industry and thought he was providing the world's ultimate guide for the budget safari, still paid a substantial sum — and had a much more difficult time, despite his unusually high degree of experience compared with the typical tourist hunter. He also estimated that a six-month safari taken on his frugal recommendations would cost about £600, which roughly aligns with the costs provided in the table below if one-time expenses are observed.[462] Bennet's estimated costs are as follows:

[462] Ibid, p. 296.

Item	Cost Per Month (£)
Traveller's License	£1*
Private Land Lease	£25
Special License for Elephant	£10 (plus £20 for second license)*
Professional Hunter and Guide	—
Outfitter Fees 25 porters (£1 each); tent boy (£2); cook (£2); misc. fees and supplies (£38). Head-man, gun-bearers, and askaris excluded.	£67
Horses or mules	—
Single 1st Class Railway Fare, Mombasa to Nairobi[463]	£6*
Steamship Fare (1st class round-trip from London)	£72*
Shipping of Trophies and Supplies[464]	£22*
Preservation, Handling, and Mounting of Trophies[465]	£100*
Total	**£303**

Table 3: Edward Bennet's Estimate of the Costs of a Budget Safari, circa 1912.[466]

Bennet's estimated costs of the safari probably err on the low side, for few visitors could have endured the privations entailed in his scheme. He faced continual troubles during his visit, harrowing even for an Indian Civil Servant. Before departing for East Africa, Bennet had hired some less than reputable safari agents to supply him with porters, but, when he arrived, they told him that "they could not supply [him] with porters at all, even after a

[463] The figure of £3 fare each way is provided by A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), p. 106.
[464] The cost of shipping trophies was rarely, if ever, mentioned in contemporary accounts and is an extrapolation, most likely erring on the low side. Edward Bennet (ever frugal) stated that the cost of passage return and voyage expenses together were about £100. Since we know that the steamship fare was £72 and railway fares £6, this leaves £22 to account for the cost of shipping boxes of trophies to the home destination. See Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1914), p. 296.
[465] Bennet remarked that it would cost £100 for "setting up your trophies in London," but this seems to exclude "voyage expenses," which he mentioned elsewhere. See Ibid, p. 296.
[466] The asterisk represents a one-time cost, except in extenuating circumstances.

month."[467] He wanted to secure 60 porters and hunt for half a year, but only twenty could be found, and those owing largely to the intervention of sympathetic officials, Colonel Graham and Mr. Stone, the District Commissioner. Bennet went on to describe endless difficulties arranging the safari, including agents that would not do their jobs of transporting and storing supplies that had arrived by ship, and porters deserting the safari once they reached the destination they wished. He admitted that most visitors to East Africa "regret" hiring agents and never do so again, but advised that, for "those to whom money is no object, who come out from Europe or America for a short time, who have usually no previous experience of big game shooting, and who do not wish to take much trouble, leave matters to one of the firms of outfitters, and employ a white hunter" — in other words, Newland and Tarlton and their trustworthy guides.[468] Yet he insisted that people like himself, including his many devoted readers among the British soldiers in India, are "accustomed to camp life" and can make arrangements themselves, handling any adversity and hardships found in the hunting lands of equatorial Africa.

Having estimated the typical costs of a safari taken by holders of the Traveller's and Sportsman's Licenses, we can arrive at an approximate value of the safari industry by multiplying the number of each license category by the estimated costs. It must be stressed, of course, that the figures shown in Table 4.4 are not meant to suggest anything close to this degree of specificity, but rather that these are the figures produced if we accept the estimates given throughout this chapter and calculate them accordingly.

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[467] Ibid, p. 23.
[468] Ibid, p. 250.

	Traveller's Licenses (at £303)		Sportsman's Licenses (at £959)		Total Safari Expenditures
Year	Licenses	Expenditures	Licenses	Expenditures	
1899	—	—	4*	3,836	3,836
1900	—	—	16*	15,344	15,344
1901	—	—	5*	4,795	4,795
1902	—	—	24	23,016	23,016
1903	—	—	42	40,278	40,278
1904-05	—	—	98	93,982	93,982
1905-06	—	—	78*	74,802	74,802
1906-07	—	—	92*	88,228	88,228
1907-08	—	—	85*	81,515	81,515
1908-09	—	—	59*	56,581	56,581
1909-10	72	21,816	116	111,244	133,060
1910-11	234	70,902	124	118,916	189,818
1911-12	356	107,868	83	79,597	187,465
1912-13	440	133,320	96	92,064	225,384
1913-14	423	128,169	74	70,966	199,135
1914	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4: Estimated Safari Expenditures in the British East Africa Protectorate, 1899-1914.[469]

* * *

How large were the expenditures of the safari trade as a proportion of the East African economy? The best way to relate these sums to the value of the wider economy is to consider

[469] Note: This table shows the estimated expenditures on safaris in East Africa between 1899 and 1914. To estimate these values, it takes the total number of licenses granted to visitors (in the categories of Traveller's and Sportsman's Licenses) and multiplies them by the estimated costs of a safari for each type of license. Safaris taken by holders of the Traveller's License cost an estimated £303, while those of the Sportsman cost approximately £959. The values of each license category are then added together to produce a total of safari expenditures in East Africa. Figures marked with an asterisk (*) indicate years in which the Game Department failed to produce an annual report that compiled license sales, resulting in unreliable figures that probably fall below the actual number of sales.

the expenditures of the safari trade as an *invisible export,* a transaction in which a party in East Africa sold a package of safari services to a foreign visitor who paid with foreign money.[470] This means that safari expenditures in East Africa are best compared with the *domestic exports* of the British East Africa Protectorate, which are defined as exports that originated within East Africa, excluding re-exports (which were defined as "all imported goods… which are subsequently re-exported in the form they were imported...").[471] The table below shows (1) safari expenditures from Table 4.4; (2) the annual value of domestic exports from the British East Africa Protectorate; and (3) the value of the safari trade as a percentage of the annual domestic exports of the territory. Again, of course, as before, the specificity shown in the table is not meant to imply any exactness in these estimates, but rather to carry forward calculations that would result if the estimates are accepted.

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[470] This is similar to the way that international tourism bodies usually measure foreign tourism. See, for example, United Nations World Tourism Organization, *Methodological Notes to the Tourism Statistics Database* (Madrid, Spain: World Tourism Organization, 2015). It is important to note that the systematic measurement of tourism statistics is a recent endeavor, dating to the publication in 2008 of the *International Recommendations for Tourism Statistics 2008*. Previous assessments used a variety of informal indices from related areas of measurement, such as National Balance of Payments statistics, customs and immigration records, or questionnaire surveys circulated among tourists.

[471] It must be noted that *domestic exports,* provided in trade reports, differ from the figures given in general annual reports of the Protectorate. The "export" figures given in annual government reports (as compared with *trade* reports) are undifferentiated and combine domestic exports with *re-exports*, which include goods that originated in the Uganda Protectorate, German East Africa, Italian East Africa, the Congo Free State, and other countries that sent their goods through Mombasa.[471] For obvious reasons, citing exports and re-exports together would distort the figures when the rest of this chapter has dealt with the license sales of the British East Africa Protectorate alone. For an example of an annual report that includes re-exports in the export figures, see [Cd. 3729-21] *Colonial Reports: Annual, No. 557: East Africa Protectorate: Report for 1906-07* (London: HM Stationary Office, 1908), especially p. 10.

Year	Safari Expenditures	Annual Domestic Exports[472] (£)	Safari Trade as Percentage of Exports
1899	3,836*	121,635	3.1%
1900	15,344*	83,959	18.3%
1901	4,795*	unavailable	—
1902	23,016	unavailable	—
1903	40,278	109,110	36.9%
1904-05	93,982	123,721	75.9%
1905-06	74,802*	unavailable	—
1906-07	88,228*	unavailable	—
1907-08	81,515*	unavailable	—
1908-09	56,581*	157,097	36%
1909-10	133,060	140,418	94.7%
1910-11	189,818	190,668	99.5%
1911-12	187,465	276,480	67.8%
1912-13	225,384	333,670	67.5%
1913-14	199,135	421,084	47.3%

Table 5: Safari Trade as a Proportion of Domestic Exports of the British East Africa Protectorate.[473]

[472] Missing data is the result of the British East Africa Protectorate failing to produce data on domestic exports for the given year. All other years are collected from annual reports and annual trade reports for the territory, but it must be noted that the collection of such data was not systematized until the governorship of Sir Percy Girouard after 1909, as explained in Footnote 21. For the data here, see: *Report by His Majesty's Commissioner on the East Africa Protectorate* (London: HM's Stationary Office, 1901) [Cd. 769]; *Reports Relating to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1905) [Cd. 2740]; East Africa Protectorate, *Annual Report for the Year 1920-21* (Nairobi, 1922); *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda, for the year ended December 31st, 1922* (London, 1923).

[473] Note on the table: Figures marked with an asterisk (*) indicate years in which the Game Department failed to produce an annual report that compiled license sales, resulting in unreliable estimates that probably fall below the actual amount.

Although safari expenditures were not counted in the official trade statistics of the British East Africa Protectorate, the estimates presented in this chapter reveal that the safari trade represented a major proportion of the East African cash economy before 1914, much larger than previous economic historians have appreciated. Compared against domestic exports, the index they fit best, safari expenditures were *equivalent to* (but not counted) over 75 percent of the value of domestic exports in 1904 and probably averaged, over the next three years (when data is missing), greater than half the value of domestic exports from the Protectorate. From 1909 through 1910, the value of the safari trade roughly equaled the value of domestic exports, then began a long, gradual fall as a *proportion* of the economy once East Africa's agricultural export economy found its feet. This leads to the second outstanding feature of these statistics: the relatively small scale of East Africa's export economy. Those incredulous about the extraordinary size of the safari industry during the years spanning 1900 to 1914 must bear in mind that its size as a percentage of exports is undoubtedly exaggerated because of the relatively small scale and undeveloped nature of East Africa's export economy during the first few decades of colonial rule.

As in most new African colonies, the majority of economic activity in British East Africa at the beginning of the century involved internal trade and subsistence agriculture. Even newly arrived settlers who held grand ambitions of growing rich from the export of agricultural goods had to await the cultivation of their estates and the expansion of their herds, to say nothing of the setbacks they endured and the experiments they had to undertake on the way to profitable endeavors. Large-scale external trade awaited the introduction cash crops, and the integration of the region with the world economy, developments that occurred only gradually before the First World War. It was entirely to be expected that safari trade would represent a large portion of the colony's trade in its early years, but that the industry's importance would decline to lower levels as new farms and export trades were established.

Moreover, these estimates probably err on the low side. The calculations completed in this chapter exclude many of the large expenditures required by every safari, for the reason that they have so far been impossible to trace with any degree of reliability. This chapter makes no attempt to include the costs of luxury hotels in East Africa, for example, the patronage of which was *de rigueur* in the days preceding and following an expedition. Nor do these estimates include the costs of firearms and ammunition, which for a recommended battery of English-made big-game rifles could easily reach over £100, occasionally many times more. Even "affordable" firearms were quite expensive. A .350 bore Mauser (bolt-action) from John Rigby & Co., considered a "budget" firearm, sold for about £20.[474] W.W. Greener of Haymarket, London, offered for £50 a battery consisting of a double rifle, hammerless shotgun, and miniature single barrel rifle, each in a case.[475] The finest heavy-bore double rifles could cost far more. Finally, the estimates do not include other miscellaneous luxuries enjoyed by wealthy visitors, such as cameras and film (in those days used mainly to record trophy kills instead of to photograph live game), binoculars, or other such accessories. Estimating such expenses with the evidence as it presently stands could not be anything more than a guess. The calculations made here, in other words, far from inflating the value of the safari industry, probably tend to underestimate the true expenditures in the interest of being faithful to the extant historical record.

Finally, of course, this chapter makes no pretense to measure the number of tourists who visited East Africa for reasons other than hunting, although most tourists before 1914 were, in fact, hunters. In part this owes to the parameters of enquiry. This study is concerned above all else with the history of the *safari,* which in these years consisted almost exclusively

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[474] Advertisement in D.D. Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler* (London: Horace Cox, 1912), p. 104.
[475] Ibid, p. 111.

of big-game hunting. In practice, the definition of the safari employed in this study is not entirely fixed on the strict definition used at the turn of the century to describe the caravan that travels through the country for sporting or other purposes. Later chapters will expand the analysis to include also non-hunting visitors who came to enjoy the wildlife and nature of the country in other ways, including with the camera and motorcar, and by visiting national parks. For the purposes of the present chapter, the available evidence indicates that expenditures on costly hunting safaris far overshadowed any non-hunting tourism before the First World War.

* * *

This chapter has attempted to make a first contribution on the economic history of the safari trade. Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence before 1914 and the preliminary state of these conclusions, it is clear that British East Africa's safari trade expanded enormously before the First World War. The sale of licenses to visiting hunters more than doubled every five years until 1914, rising from four in 1899, to 98 in 1904, to 188 in 1909, and to a pre-war peak of 536 in 1912. It is estimated that, between 1899 and 1914, over 2,500 visitors took out hunting licenses in the British East Africa Protectorate, most of them taking lengthy safaris of several months that employed hundreds of men and typically ranged in cost from £300 to £1,000 each at a time when a Ford motor car could be purchased in Nairobi for about £200 (*after* comparatively high shipping costs and customs duties). Using authoritative cost estimates given by contemporary guides and hunters and extrapolating them across the data of visiting licenses, it is estimated that tourist safaris between 1900 and 1914 accounted for as much as £1,400,000 of economic activity, much of this sum spent in Kenya, a figure equivalent to roughly USD $180,000,000 in 2015. In an underdeveloped colonial economy that consisted primarily of subsidence trade and agriculture in the early years of the twentieth century, this represented a tremendous economic windfall of almost unbelievable proportions. It is hardly surprising, given these figures, that Abel Chapman could comment in 1908 that wildlife was

"a chief asset of our East African colony," and the big-game hunter "its most profitable customer."[476]

[476] Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), p. 4.

Chapter 5: Driving the Postwar Recovery: The Automobile on Safari

The interwar years became the golden age of the hunting safari in East Africa. Immense tracts of forest and plains teemed with wild game and remained largely unspoiled, and yet, at the same time, the advent of the automobile into common use made even the farthest reaches of this land accessible to the casual tourist hunter. Magnifying these advantages was the existence in East Africa of a well developed safari industry that had already passed through its formative stages of development, an industry that specialized in outfitting, organizing, and guiding safaris, putting the tourist up in the region's excellent hotel accommodations, and facilitating arrangements for travel as well as the shipment of trophies back home. Never before had the visiting hunter in East Africa enjoyed such a favorable combination of splendid hunting opportunities in an unspoiled land, a well developed tourist industry that could provide every conceivable luxury, and the technical ability to reach the finest wildlife areas by mechanized transport on a casual tourist excursion.

For many visitors, this period offered the first opportunity to see a country whose natural attractions had been hailed for many years. East Africa had long attracted its fair share of stalwart admirers, but during the interwar years the appeal and the accessibility of its wild places precipitated something of a love affair among important literary and public figures, solidifying East Africa's reputation for decades to come as the game country *par excellence*. Ernest Hemingway, Karen Blixen (Isak Dinesen), and other writers memorialized East Africa and the safari life in print. Royals from across the world, the British royal family chief among them, were captivated by the experience and developed longstanding affinities with the safari. Captains of industry increasingly viewed the East African safari as the crowning trip of a distinguished career. Film producers throughout the world satisfied a latent demand among the public for stories of safari adventure in a series of films produced on location in East Africa,

which brought the safari industry profitable business as well as invaluable publicity. At every turn during the years spanning 1918 to 1939, it seemed, individuals of great wealth and outsized influence could enjoy natural attractions in a country that became accessible during this period as never before.

And yet for all the fanfare that accompanied the interwar safari, the years after 1918 ushered in a time of profound change and upheaval for the safari industry itself. East Africa, as elsewhere, experienced a sharp economic contraction in the immediate postwar years, now overshadowed by the Great Depression of the 1930s but a very serious crisis at the time for regions like East Africa that relied heavily on the export of primary products. Simultaneously, an unexpected change in the convertibility of the rupee with the pound weakened visitors' purchasing power while magnifying the debts of local residents who had taken out loans when the currency was worth considerably less. On top of this, the 1920s and 1930s brought a series of droughts, locust plagues, and recurrent crop diseases in East Africa, while the Great Depression of the 1930s saw another collapse of prices for the agricultural goods upon which the colony depended.

The severity of these postwar economic crises might seem to be confirmed by a noteworthy feature of the game license statistics between 1918 and 1939. The number of licenses sold to "sportsmen" and other visiting hunters in Kenya never recovered during the interwar years to anywhere near the levels attained before the First World War. Taken at face value, the game license statistics thus appear to indicate a decline bordering on crisis. Yet this data is misleading for reasons that will be spelled out fully in chapters to follow. Other forms of safari tourism, such as photography and game viewing, increasingly took the place of the traditional big game hunt among visitors to the country, but game departments and government records made no attempt to tabulate the activities of non-hunting tourists until sometime after 1945. A considerable portion of the safari trade during the interwar years thus occurred outside

the normal channels of official record keeping. The present chapter begins to explain this evolution of the safari trade by reference to several important developments that occurred after the First World War, providing crucial background and setting the stage for events to come.

The first concerns the nature and severity of the postwar economic crises in East Africa and the effects they had on the organization of the safari industry. Newland and Tarlton, the pioneering safari firm that had made its reputation as the premier outfitter of caravan-based hunting safaris, became one of the casualties of these postwar crises when it collapsed in the early 1920s under the weight of excessive debt from ill-fated ventures in importing, merchandising, and land speculation. The collapse of a firm that had completely dominated the safari industry before the war opened the way for new entrants, new tourist activities (such as photography), and new methods of organization at the very moment that technological changes, particularly the introduction of the automobile, were lowering the barriers of entry into the business.

The second theme of this chapter, which follows upon the first, concerns the general impact of the automobile on the way safaris were organized and conducted, and the problems this presented for the vexed issue of wildlife conservation. Motorized transport increased the speed and efficiency of safari travel, reduced the demands on human labor, and enabled tourists to reach previously inaccessible areas. For the safari industry, the automobile reduced the logistical requirements of the safari and enabled more proprietors to offer a larger range of services. Tourists, meanwhile, could enjoy an expanded the range of safari options, enabling far greater luxury for the rich, far less expenditure of time and money for the budget-conscious tourist, and new activities that went beyond, and often excluded, the traditional big game hunt altogether.

This chapter argues that despite the postwar economic slump, despite ruinous currency exchange problems and a general shortage of labor, and despite the collapse of Newland and

Tarlton in the early 1920s, new opportunities opened up primarily by the advent of the automobile into common use enabled the safari industry to overcome a confluence of postwar crises.

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East Africa's safari industry welcomed the peace that arrived in November 1918 bearing heavy burdens of a war that had lasted for four years in a challenging region of Africa. Despite its remoteness from the main theatres of conflict in Europe, the British East Africa Protectorate and its regional allies fought their own campaigns against German East Africa from 1914 to 1918. The safari industry became a major casualty of the conflict. The flow of visiting hunters ceased following the outbreak of hostilities and the industry remained in abeyance until some time after the war's conclusion. Whereas other industries can continue to operate in wartime by producing goods, raw materials, and essential services (sometimes even increasing their production), tourism is unusually susceptible to global insecurity and war. Few individuals can be induced during wartime to travel for leisure to a foreign and unfamiliar land if they can even get permission to cross its borders.

The prospects for tourism in East Africa were foreclosed entirely by official enactments in the early stages of the conflict. By 1915, as British East Africa reorganized itself for war, the Game Department suspended its activities and ceased granting licenses. Any tourists still inclined to travel under such conditions saw the opportunity close altogether in November 1915, when the Royal Navy closed Kilindini Harbor to public traffic.[477] By 1916, conscription was put into effect in the colony, compelling local settlers and many indigenous Africans, including those who worked in the safari industry, to devote their energies to service in the war. This is not to say that hunting itself no longer occurred. During this time residents of

[477] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway: Being the Official History of the Development of the Transport System in Kenya and Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 363.

East Africa and soldiers stationed in the region continued hunting to supplement their food supply, to collect a few skins or trophies to be sold at small profits, to control marauding game on their farms, and to supply the armed forces with meat.

The professional hunters and African porters who enlisted in the British armed forces were primarily engaged in military intelligence and scouting operations in pursuit of the forces of General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, Commander of the *Schütztruppen,* the forces in German East Africa. Professional hunters held particular value in such a campaign. Their skills in the bush and knowledge of the country's geography made them valuable assets in the kind of war being prosecuted. They were familiar with the land and the challenges it presented. They were experienced trackers. They possessed great stamina and could make long treks without being detected. Most of them were fluent in Swahili and could communicate with African soldiers and porters. They were experienced in packing equipment and organizing caravan expeditions. They were crack shots with a rifle and considered skillful, by training and profession, at the tasks required in combat. The result was that virtually all the region's professional hunters were enlisted in the military services for the duration of hostilities and unable to undertake safari work of any kind, quite apart from the infeasibility of travel for the clients who provided the source of their business.

What became known as the East African campaign was insignificant to the outcome of war in Europe but had a profound influence on East Africa.[478] By July 1915, the British Navy had gained control of the seas, cutting off supplies and reinforcements for the German colony. Lettow-Vorbeck had realized as early as 1914 that defeating the British was impossible in

[478] An immense literature exists on the First World War in Africa, but see, for example: Edward Paice, *World War I: The African Front: An Imperial War on the Dark Continent* (New York: Pegasus, 2008); Hew Strachan, *The First World War in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2004); Geoffrey Hodges, *The Carrier Corps: Military Labor in the East African Campaign, 1914-1918* (New York: Greenwood, 1986); Charles Miller, *Battle for the Bundu: The First World War in East Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1974); Anne Samson, *World War I in Africa: The Forgotten Conflict Among the European Powers,* International Library of Twentieth Century History (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

direct conflict, so he abandoned the coast and cities of the German colony and withdrew inward, where the British could not easily pursue. He set out to conduct military operations in such a way as to keep as many British troops engaged as possible, preventing their service in Europe. German forces engaged in numerous raids and ambushes and carried out acts of sabotage whenever possible, always avoiding prolonged conflict with the main British force. The ability of Lettow-Vorbeck's troops to evade capture or defeat presented British commanders with serious problems of supply and communications throughout the war, as the German commander intended.

British leaders pursued three main objectives that were difficult to reconcile. In the first place, it was imperative to defend the Uganda Railway and the British territories in general from the threat of German raids, which required forces to be stationed along a far-flung and inhospitable boundary. Second, Britain gradually developed an interest in overrunning German territory and seizing its infrastructure, both to prevent reinforcements and supplies from reaching the German troops, and to gain a more favorable settlement at the peace. Third, British commanders sought to neutralize the German forces and thereby to end the conflict in East Africa. Ultimately the first two objectives were given priority as the most realistic given the circumstances at hand. Accomplishing the third objective would have ensured success at all three, but too many difficulties stood in the way.

Britain's armed forces in East Africa drew troops from across the empire, including from India and South Africa. War planners hoped that a concerted effort under capable leadership could provide a decisive defeat of the elusive German forces. Jan Smuts of South Africa took command after February 1916 and prepared for a large offensive. The British forces captured German cities, overran plantations, and seized railways and other infrastructure throughout the year. Control of the seas and overwhelming superiority of manpower and materials eventually gave the British forces a Pyrrhic victory. When Smuts reported on the

war effort in London in late 1916, he explained that British and South African forces under his command had conquered four-fifths of German East African territory and overrun nine-tenths of its infrastructure.[479] Yet he downplayed the difficulties of the campaign and failed to acknowledge that imperial forces had yet to achieve a meaningful feat of arms against the Germans. By 1917, British forces drove Lettow-Vorbeck from German East Africa, but the German commander refused to be caught, dividing his troops into three slippery columns that went in separate directions across the borders of the colony.[480] Elspeth Huxley likened the British pursuit of these rag-tag German forces to "chasing three active tadpoles in a muddy pond."[481] British efforts were hampered further by a reluctance to cooperate with Belgian forces out of fear that this would elevate their demands at the peace settlement should this imperial rival seize land in East Africa.

In the event, the war ended without Lettow-Vorbeck having ever suffered a defeat of arms. He finally surrendered on 25 November 1918, two weeks after the Armistice had been concluded. It was thus generally acknowledged after the war that Lettow-Vorbeck achieved his aim of eluding defeat or capture, leading many to consider him the real victor in the East Africa campaign – indeed, the only undefeated German commander. He claimed at the end of the war that the Germans had at their disposal only 260 officers, 11,000 askaris, a police force of about 2,200 men, and 3,000 German residents. Meanwhile the British used 130 British generals and as many as 300,000 men against him.[482] The official British casualty figures

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[479] Hew Strachan, *The First World War in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 164.
[480] Kenneth Ingham, *A History of East Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 255-256.
[481] Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* Vol. II: 1914-1931 (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 37.
[482] General Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck, *My Reminiscences of East Africa,* Translator Unknown (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1957), p. 20. The German edition was published in 1920. These figures are misleading. The British forces never had 300,000 men in the field at any one time; the figure reflects the number of personnel who served in the campaign.

amounted to 62,220, of which 48,328 succumbed to disease, mostly malaria.[483] The British had also enlisted over 50,000 African troops in the campaign and relied on a massive "carrier corps" consisting of over one million African laborers and porters. The total cost of the East Africa campaign to the British Exchequer amounted to £72,000,000.[484]

Whatever the costs of the war, however, the British could unquestionably claim victory where it concerned the appropriation of land. Britain had gained control and occupied the majority of German East Africa, establishing effective administration by 1920. In 1922 this territory became a League of Nations Mandate under British trusteeship known as the Tanganyika Territory.[485] The western portions of the German territory, occupied by the Belgians after 1916, became a League of Nations Mandate under Belgian rule in 1924, called Ruanda-Urundi.[486] The German presence in East Africa, long a source of official unease, had been eliminated as a potential threat, despite the tremendous costs.

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The war caused its share of economic dislocations for the inhabitants of British East Africa. The Protectorate (soon to be Kenya Colony) had suffered from the disruption of import and export markets, transport and shipping quotas, and the requisition of trains, docks, warehouses, and trading facilities. Settlers benefited as much as could be hoped from measures taken to shield their positions from the exigencies of war, but Africans generally suffered the full effects of the crisis.[487] Many settlers felt, nevertheless, that they had lost ground during

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483 These figures exclude the casualties of porters.

484 G.W.T. Hodges, "African Manpower Statistics for the British Forces in East Africa, 1914-1918," in *Journal of African History*, XIX, 1 (1978), p. 115. For the monograph of Hodges' study, see Geoffrey Hodges, *The Carrier Corps: Military Labor in the East African Campaign, 1914-1918* (New York: Greenwood, 1986).

485 Effective administration began with the Tanganyika Order in Council of July 22, 1920. *Tanganyika Territory: Ordinances, Proclamations, etc.*, Vol. 1. (London, 1921), p. 92.

486 See Wm. Roger Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi 1884-1919* (Oxford, 1963).

487 See especially John Overton, "War and Economic Development: Settlers in Kenya, 1914-1918," in *Journal of African History,* 27, (1986).

the war, since they were unable to export their crops or import new farm implements owing to the shortage of international shipping. Disease had run rampant among livestock while the veterinary department was preoccupied tending to the army's transport animals. A widespread drought in 1918 wreaked havoc on crops. Many settlers returned home to find their formerly cultivated fields smothered by weeds and grass. A labor shortage was in the making.[488]

Despite these obstacles, the European community in British East Africa, including the leaders of the safari industry, greeted the end of the war with renewed confidence that the age of progress and prosperity could resume now that the war had ended and the southern border was secured forever from the threat of German invasion. Commodities useful in wartime, such as sisal and flax, saw especially large increases in profitability, a situation that continued after 1917 when the former Russian suppliers were cut off from the world by the communist revolution. One historian, John Overton, went so far as to write that "the settler economy emerged more productive, more efficient and more profitable.... All this occurred at a time when African producers were being squeezed by the war."[489]

One of the reasons for optimism derived from the impression that the government had taken a renewed interest in the development of British East Africa as a colony of white settlement. For years the Protectorate had been hailed as a "white man's country" that boasted a favorable climate, fertile soil, and ample opportunities for the sporting life of a country gentleman that was increasingly difficult to maintain in Britain. Large scale white settlement had been precluded, many settlers believed, by byzantine land laws, an over-earnest concern for African interests among civil servants, and the inability to conquer tropical disease, which

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[488] For these issues, see Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* Vol. II: 1914-1931 (London: Macmillan, 1935), especially Chapter 15: "War-time in the Protectorate, 1917-1919," and Chapter 16: Protectorate Into Colony, 1919-1921."

[489] John Overton, "War and Economic Development: Settlers in Kenya, 1914-1918," in *Journal of African History,* 27, (1986), p. 101.

affected crops and livestock and occasionally forestalled human settlement in affected areas. Advocates of settlement believed that solutions to these problems were near after the war as the government became friendlier to settlement and as science began to triumph over disease. Lord Delamere and others, having plowed their fortunes into experimental endeavors, had begun to show progress in the battle to make agriculture a workable proposition.[490]

Political developments seemed, for a time, to reinforce settler perceptions. As early as 1915, the War Council began considering a scheme for the settlement of ex-soldiers in the Highlands of British East Africa, a move that advocates believed would strengthen the white population and thereby boost the economic and political fortunes of the white community. Under this scheme, some 4,560 square miles of land were made available for settlers, divided into 257 small farms of 160 acres each. These small farms were to be offered to settlers free of purchase price, while 1,053 large farms would be offered for purchase on terms.[491] Over 2,000 settlers had reached Nairobi by the end of May 1919 and more would follow.[492] Also in 1915, the British government consented to settler demands for greater security of tenure by extending leases from 99 to 999 years.[493] The British government then recognized settler claims to serve on the legislative council and elect their own government. The first elections were held in February 1920, returning eleven Europeans to the Council.[494] In June 1920 the new Kenya Colony was declared, encompassing all of the lands of the British East Africa Protectorate except for the dominions of Zanzibar. All of these developments made white

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490 Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* 2 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1935).
491 M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway: Being the Official History of the Development of the Transport System in Kenya and Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 378.
492 Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* Vol. II: 1914-1931 (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 55.
493 Kenneth Ingham, *A History of East Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 268.
494 Ibid, p. 271.

settlers optimistic that their interests would now be advanced by a government they believed had previously held them back.

It was not until 1923 that settler plans to remake Kenya into a self-governing "dominion" of white settlement were rebuffed by the Devonshire White Paper. This statement of policy attempted to settle a long-running dispute over the rights granted to the European, Indian, and African communities in the colony. Settlers were stunned by the proclamation that responsible self-government, which would have transferred power to the settlers under the schemes proposed, was "out of the question within any period of time which need now be taken into consideration."[495] The White Paper further suggested that Indians should hold elective representation, and that African interests in Kenya must be paramount. The British government reaffirmed the principle when the Hilton Young Commission investigated the possibility of closer union between the East African territories in 1927. Although the paramountcy of African interests came to be regarded as Britain's official policy in Kenya, in practice London rarely interfered in Kenya's affairs and white settlers continued to enjoy broad privileges.

Until this time, Kenya's white settlers, including extant safari guides of the colony, had every reason to feel optimistic about the future economic prospects of Kenya, a country they hoped to remake into a self-governing colony comparable to South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Yet two economic crises loomed on the horizon, one connected to production and the other to currency and finance. The extraordinary demand for raw materials during the war had caused the prices of goods to rise generally throughout the world, creating a bubble that would pop shortly after the war. This dramatic price increase resulted primarily from the demand the war created to feed, supply, and equip soldiers in a massive exercise of economic wastage, over and above the normal needs of the civilian economies of Europe.

[495] Ibid, p. 275.

Heightened demand came not only from the military, but also indirectly from the civilian economy. With every industry converted to military purposes and every farm requisitioned for the war effort, civilians had to find substitutes for normal goods or live without. Simultaneously, many farms were abandoned or neglected in war zones, particularly in Europe but also in East Africa. With so much of the world's productive soil dormant during and immediately after the war, the demand for primary goods far outstripped the amount produced and prices rose accordingly.

Prices continued to rise for a brief spell after the war. The first reason involved the normal costs of post-war reconstruction. Second, high demand for raw materials came from industrial producers seeking to convert back to civilian production, largely to meet pent up demand among the public for luxuries they had forfeited during the war. Finally, perhaps most importantly, there was no accelerated way to bring abeyant farms back into production when the land had to be re-plowed, re-seeded, and restocked with laborers now much diminished by the war, and then, after all of that, to await the growth and harvest of a new crop. The absence of Russia from world markets further ensured that commodity prices would remain high until alternative sources of supply could be brought into production.

Ultimately, the prices commanded by goods and raw materials under the extraordinary conditions of war and reconstruction were artificially high and would result in an equally dramatic collapse when the situation was reversed and production began to outstrip demand. This reversal of fortunes happened much faster than expected. Farmers in Kenya, eager to cash in on high prices, plowed and planted as much land as possible, but found by harvest-time that so many others throughout the world had done likewise that the market could not possibly handle the large volume of crops they had produced. In some cases, the costs of harvesting and bringing crops to market exceeded the revenues they would yield. By 1920, prices for

exports were declining rapidly in East Africa, falling to between one-third and one-eighth of what they had been a few months previously.[496]

Parallel to the crisis of over-production was a crisis of finance related to the large outlays of money the British government committed to the war. Between 1914 and 1918, to help finance the war effort, the Bank of England printed more notes than it had gold stocks in its vaults. On a small scale, such action could have occurred with negligible financial impact, but in this instance the outlays required were so large that the amount of paper money printed by the Bank of England rapidly outstripped the amount of goods the country's industries produced. The gold standard was suspended and the circulation of gold sovereigns ceased, severing the connection between paper sterling notes and gold. The result of these developments meant rapid inflation of the pound sterling, upon which the currencies of nearly the entire empire were based. The purchasing power of sterling, long one of the most stable currencies in the world, declined by 40 percent in the six years between 1914 and 1920.[497]

The *inflation* of the British pound sterling was directly connected to the *deflation* of East Africa's currency, the rupee. This little known currency exchange crisis might seem like an arcane footnote of financial history, but it contributed powerfully to the collapse of Newland and Tarlton and thereby transformed the safari industry at a critical phase of its existence. Since 1898 Kenya had used the silver-based Indian rupee as its standard coin, offering both smaller coins and notes of higher denominations, all expressed in terms of the rupee. This situation arose from East Africa and Zanzibar traditionally falling within the rupee zone centered on India rather than the sterling zone centered on London, a legacy of Indian traders dominating the trade of Zanzibar and the coast before the arrival of British rule. After 1905

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[496] Roger van Zwanenberg, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 284.
[497] Ibid, p. 282.

British policy maintained currency stability at a fixed rate. The value of the rupee was set at 1s. 4d sterling (one shilling[498] and four pence), or 15 shillings to the pound, while one paper pound sterling was exchangeable for one gold sovereign. The war threw this arrangement into turmoil. The circulation of British sovereigns ceased and the pound sterling lost its connection to the gold sovereign. Meanwhile, the rupee remained attached to silver, whose price rose dramatically beginning in 1916, giving the rupee coin an intrinsic value greater than 1s. 4d. The value of the silver-based rupee continued to increase throughout 1917, 1918, and 1919, reaching 2s. 9d. in early 1920, effectively doubling its value.[499] By December, the price of silver stood at 186 percent above the level of 1915.[500] Paper pound sterling notes by this time were being exchanged for as little as eight rupees. The rupee, tied to the increasing value of silver, was gaining strength against the pound sterling, which had lost its connection with gold.

The crisis in rupee convertibility had several economic effects in Kenya, some of which extended to the safari industry. First, the fluctuations of the standard coin and the steadily increasing value of the rupee made it difficult to import capital from sterling countries. The weakened pound did not go as far as before in the East African economy, and investors worried that future fluctuations could reverse the situation and make it difficult to recoup the capital they invested at a time when the pound was weak. Second, the sterling costs of production rose sharply in Kenya for all commodities, at least initially. This problem had two facets. The first was that many producers exported their goods to Britain for sterling, but had to change their sterling into rupees for local expenses, such as the costs of local labor and supplies, which

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[498] The shilling was traditionally a subsidiary unit of the pound sterling, each pound divided into twenty shillings.

[499] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway: Being the Official History of the Development of the Transport System in Kenya and Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 381.

[500] Robert Maxon, *Struggle for Kenya: The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912-1923* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1993), p. 182.

remained relatively constant throughout this period. The same problem faced settlers arriving from Britain with sterling who then had to obtain goods and services in Kenya with their depreciated sterling cash reserves. Receiving eight or ten rupees for each pound instead of fifteen meant that sterling imported to East Africa did not go as far toward buying goods or employing labor, therefore making it difficult to turn a profit. Third, most importantly, liabilities held in Kenya were still denominated in rupees now worth considerably more than when the loans were taken out, drastically increasing the real burdens of debt. Kenyan farmers and proprietors had to sell twice as many goods (at least in sterling markets, e.g. exports) to meet liabilities that had been taken on when each unit of currency was worth roughly half as much.

The Colonial Office decided in February 1920 to stabilize the currency at ten rupees to the pound, somewhat below its market value at the time, but still considerably higher than before the war.[501] Ewart Grogan, an outspoken settler who became a critic of the policy, remarked:

> The effect was to add 50 percent to the whole cost of Government and railway (excepting material) – to add 50 percent to the whole liability of Government in the form of its note issue and subsidiary coins – to add 50 percent to all rents, royalties, overdrafts, and other money obligations. It ruined the whole producing and mercantile interests of the colony, and left the Government with a net deficit of £2,250,000 in the currency account.[502]

Grogan perhaps overstated the case, but his statement reflects the dissatisfaction that settlers felt over a problem that continued to grow more acute. Then, just when some settlers had begun to accept the government's arrangement of 10 rupees to the pound, the value of the rupee began to fall dramatically on the open market (outside East Africa, mainly in India, where it

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[501] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway: Being the Official History of the Development of the Transport System in Kenya and Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 384.
[502] Quoted in Ibid, p. 385.

was not fixed by law), returning by February 1921 to its former level of 15 rupees to the pound. This meant that East African settlers, having suffered the ruinous effects of a highly valued rupee, were now deprived of the benefits once its value fell back to pre-war levels.

In a sinister twist, some profiteers found that they could exchange rupees for sterling in East Africa at the rate of 10 rupees to one pound, then exchange the sterling back to rupees on the open market (In India, for example) at a rate of 15 rupees for each pound, thus earning a 50 percent profit. Many of these rupees obviously ended up back in East Africa where they were worth 50 percent more. This currency control thus caused a flood of rupees into the East African market and vastly distorted trade. In February 1921, reeling from the crisis, the government declared the rupee no longer legal tender and replaced it at par value with the short-lived florin (i.e. two shillings to one florin), which was divided into 100 cents. Then, in 1921, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda adopted a new "East African shilling" at the rate of two East African shillings to one florin, fixed at a one-to-one ratio with the shilling sterling to prevent a repeat of this catastrophe. Although the East African shilling remained pegged to sterling at par value, it became the primary unit of account in East Africa, divided into 100 cents with its own minted coins. It remained in circulation in Kenya on these terms until 1969.

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The pioneering safari firm Newland and Tarlton became one of the casualties of these postwar economic crises in East Africa, collapsing in the early 1920s. The company's troubles occurred not because the safari business had fallen into abeyance during the war, nor because the safari business failed to pay, but because, when the war was over, Newland and Tarlton stretched its business interests too far beyond the safari trade, which had always been one of the most profitable branches of its operations. Lord Cranworth, a prominent settler who served on the board of directors of Newland and Tarlton, later explained the downfall of the company. Newland and Tarlton had captured as much as "75 per cent of the business in each direction"

of land agency, auctioneering, and safari outfitting in British East Africa, he wrote, all of which remained profitable to the end. Victor Newland from the inception had been the "driving force" of the company, but "that driving force he transferred in its entirety to the prosecution of the War and in his absence the rot set in."[503]

In early 1910, Newland and Tarlton had begun increasing its capital and made a risky entry into the "uncharted sea" of store-keeping, merchandising, and importing.[504] In the booming economic conditions preceding the war, Newland and Tarlton had little trouble selling its goods at acceptable prices to the large number of settlers making a start in East Africa. The directors of Newland and Tarlton, like many in East Africa, had expected a great wave of prosperity to continue after the war, buoyed by hopes in the Soldier-Settlement Scheme and the continued high prices of commodities. Yet after the war the market was decidedly and unexpectedly limited, while the Soldier-Settlement Scheme was less successful than hoped. Ford cars, Dunlop tires, farm equipment, household appliances, furniture, building materials, and all variety of other goods required immense outlays of capital for Newland and Tarlton to import to East Africa, but they could not easily be sold in the climate of austerity that pervaded the colony in the immediate postwar years. Simultaneously, Newland and Tarlton had bought into land ventures, like the Corn Land Syndicate, which purchased some 20,000 acres and sold the property in lots of 500 acres each.[505] If purchasers could not pay for the land because of hardship or lack of capital, the investors in the Syndicate bore the losses. Newland and Tarlton had dangerously expanded its capital in anticipation of a rush of business from new settlers buying and developing land, and this "finally destroyed them."[506]

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503 Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 50. On profitability, see p. 306.
504 "Newland Tarlton & Co., Ltd.: New Premises," *The East African Standard,* 24 September 1910, p. 10.
505 Ibid, p. 10.
506 Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 51.

The "rush of business never came," Cranworth wrote. "Instead arrived a decline at an ever-increasing velocity."[507] Newland and Tarlton began making a loss. "The business became top-heavy, overheads increased beyond all reasonable bounds, and, with a falling market, nothing but most drastic pruning could have saved the company."[508] Victor Newland explained, in a little known letter, that the company was working on a £40,000 overdraft by September 1919 (equivalent to roughly USD $2,250,000 in 2015), "which makes me shiver to think of, especially as exchange [of the rupee] is now 40% against B.E.A. [British East Africa], a state of affairs which means ruin to the country if long continued."[509] The problem was compounded by financial obligations to employees that could not easily be shed. Newland and Tarlton was employing 37 Europeans at an average salary of approximately £500 a year, a considerable sum in East Africa in those days.

> Now at that time in Kenya [Cranworth wrote] it was far more difficult to get rid of an employee than it was at home. Many of them were personal friends, others had fought through the War, and on a falling tide in a small community there was the ever-present fear that they might find it impossible to get another job.[510]

Cranworth and Victor Newland, the principal business managers of the company, considered duty to their shareholders to be paramount and drew up a "drastic scheme of curtailment and reconstruction." Then came "the inevitable chorus of expostulation, coupled with threats of legal action from the axed." The board gave in and accepted an alternative plan that "ensured that all should founder in one ship, which we very rapidly did."[511]

Rather little evidence has surfaced to help the historian pin these events to a definite chronology, but it appears that this "alternative plan" had been accepted by September 1919.

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[507] Ibid, p. 51.
[508] Ibid, p. 306.
[509] Victor Newland from the Balmoral Hotel (Durban), 27 September 1919. *State Library of South Australia*.
[510] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 51.
[511] Ibid, p. 52.

Victor Newland wrote to his father on 27 September that "the Company's affairs have been organized on lines that do not suit me at all and though a managing directorship has been reserved for me at a salary of £1200 a year, on the present value of the rupee things will have to be altered to suit my ideas before I will bind myself to the Company."[512] By this time Leslie Tarlton had "left Newland, Tarlton, & Co to go on the land, merely remaining an ordinary director of the Co."[513] Sometime later Newland himself left for Australia, "broken-hearted," but eventually clawed his way back to business success in his new home.

It is not entirely clear when Newland and Tarlton wound down the safari side of its operations. Brian Herne, a former professional hunter and author, wrote that the company was "dissolved" in 1919.[514] Kenneth Cameron commented that Newland and Tarlton "went under" in 1923.[515] It appears that the date of the company's demise lies between these two dates, but Herne is closer to the mark. Newland and Tarlton appear to have wound down its safari operations with the departure of Leslie Tarlton in 1919, but the company's other branches kicked on for several more years. In April 1921, the Uganda Co. Ltd. acquired Newland and Tarlton's stock of Ford cars, Dunlop tires, spares, and other accessories of the automobile trade in which the company had been vested.[516] A month later, the *Dar es Salaam Times* reported that Hammond & Partners were taking over the sub agencies and business of Newland and Tarlton in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar.[517] As late as April 1922, an auction company advertised that it was selling the remainder of Newland and Tarlton's old stock, including Ford

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512 Victor Newland from the Balmoral Hotel (Durban), 27 September 1919. *State Library of South Australia*.
513 Ibid.
514 Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), p. 175.
515 Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 81.
516 Notice in *The Uganda Herald,* 15 April 1921, p. 11.
517 "Progressive Engineers: Hammond & Partners," *Dar es Salaam Times,* 28 May 1921, p. 6.

cars, fishing tackle, and motor accessories.[518] By October 1922, Newland and Tarlton issued a general notice in the *Kenya Gazette* for the return of belongings to clients and employees, for it could no longer store their goods on its premises.[519] Up until these dates, Newland and Tarlton continued to run advertisements for its various business enterprises in East Africa.

In retrospect, the collapse of Newland and Tarlton turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the safari industry, functioning as a kind of "creative destruction"[520] that prevented the industry from being hobbled by outdated customs and old institutional arrangements that might otherwise have persisted owing to Newland and Tarlton's domination of the business. As we saw in earlier chapters, one of the principal advantages of Newland and Tarlton was that it could handle the large-scale organizational logistics required by pre-war caravan safaris that relied on human porters. No other safari company before the war could enlist reliable porters in such large numbers, furnish equipment for large caravans, or store provisions and trophies in centrally-located facilities. There were always a few freelance professional guides, of course, but they had trouble enlisting porters for larger safaris. They might know the country well, but they could not fall back on a large organizational infrastructure if problems arose. They might be able to furnish lists of the equipment and provisions required, but they had no facilities for storing them, if they even had the capital to keep them on hand. Before the war, in short, the costs of entry into the safari business were prohibitively high, and this is why most of the experienced professional hunters before the war had listed their names on the books of

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[518] Hammond & Partners advertisement, *Dar es Salaam Times,* 29 April 1922, p. 4.
[519] General Notice No. 937, *Kenya Gazette,* 25 October 1922, p. 635.
[520] The process of "creative destruction," first explicated in detail by Karl Marx, was given authority as a term by Joseph Schumpeter, who described it as "the essential fact about capitalism," which is predicated upon constant change and a "process of industrial mutation… that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one." See Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1942, 1994), pp. 82-83.

Newland and Tarlton as subcontracted guides, the famed "white hunters" Newland and Tarlton touted in its advertisements.

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The collapse of Newland and Tarlton in the early 1920s occurred just at the moment that other changes were making it possible to organize safaris in an entirely novel way. After the war and throughout the interwar period, the East African safari came to rely overwhelmingly on the automobile as the principal means of transportation. Thus, not only did the collapse of the company smooth the way for the adoption of new technologies and new methods of safari travel at a time when many old-timers showed resistance to the change, but the arrival of new innovations, particularly the automobile, also helped the safari industry to overcome the loss of its strongest commercial pillar.

Contemporaries had little doubt about the significance of the transformation. Innumerable books filled with little more than hunting yarns suddenly take pause and wax eloquent when they come to reflect upon the historical changes wrought by the motorcar. Within the space of a few years, the introduction of the automobile into East Africa transformed the modes of travel, supplanted human and animal transport, made distant locales accessible, and changed the labor requirements of the traditional safari caravan. As the logistical difficulties of porter safaris swiftly shrank, visiting hunters and safari firms alike benefited from the advantages of motorized transport in numerous ways, despite some new problems, and occasional pining for the romance of the old-fashioned foot safari. It was often said by old-timers in Kenya that nothing was the same after the war, and it was the motorcar more than anything else that made this statement true in the case of the African safari.

East Africa had received a limited introduction to the automobile before the war. Accounts differ on the first car brought into the Protectorate, but the honor probably goes to Major George Edward Smith of Sclater's road-building crew, who in 1902 imported a "strange

looking vehicle, with a door for passengers at the back."[521] Few seem to have known about this car, however. Automobiles remained rare enough that Robert Foran, an early settler, unaware of Smith's car, wrote in his survey *Transport in Many Lands* (1939): "I clearly remember the arrival of the first motor-car in Nairobi during 1909, which caused a sensation of some magnitude in the capital of British East Africa."[522] The car to which he referred may have belonged to Barton Wright, the popular Land Officer, who imported one of the first cars and was frequently seen driving in the environs of Nairobi.[523] Around the same time, Lord Cranworth imported a 15-h.p. Napier with a special body and a high clearance, which he claimed to be the "first car to leave the outskirts of Nairobi."[524]

Sometime thereafter, around 1910, Cranworth took the advice of a friend in England and started a motor transport service in East Africa that inadvertently precipitated the first foray into motorized safari travel.[525] Cranworth's transport service relied upon two 5-ton Commer lorries (i.e. cargo trucks) fitted to carry both passengers and luggage, operating a regular car service between Nairobi and Fort Hall, a trip of about sixty miles.[526] The venture was moderately successful and they carried many passengers, but Cranworth admitted that "two things killed us: the roads and the bad debts."[527] Most roads were unpaved in those days, and when the rains came they turned into a morass, which early cars with non-pneumatic tires had a particularly hard time traversing. The bad debts, according to Cranworth, resulted mainly from carrying passengers in the middle of nowhere who lacked the cash and promised to pay

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[521] Christine Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London: Timewell Press, 2005), p. 88.
[522] W. Robert Foran, *Transport in Many Lands* (New York: Frederick Warne, 1939), p. 18.
[523] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 30.
[524] Ibid, p. 30.
[525] "Motor transport on the Fort Hall Road" by means of "powerful motor wagons" was listed among Cranworth's principal interests in February 1911. See "From the Colonists Association," 25 February 1911, *African Standard* (*East African Standard, Mombasa Times, and Uganda Argus*), p. 20.
[526] Lord Cranworth, *Kenya Chronicles* (London: Macmillan, 1939), p. 32.
[527] Ibid, p. 32.

later, but never did. After closing down his ill-fated motor transport service about three years later, Cranworth repurposed one of the cars for what was "without a doubt the first shooting safari by car in British East Africa."[528] Cranworth used the cars along the roadway between Voi and Taveta, a dry area featuring a practically "all-weather" road. Few hunters had ventured to this area because the supply of water presented a difficulty for porter caravans, but "the car solved that, and two or three parties had most admirable sport at a cost satisfactory to them while to me quite remunerative."[529]

There is evidence that others had the same idea long before the motorized safari became common, although it is doubtful that many cars were imported, much less used on safari, before the First World War. In 1905, the Mombasa (B.E.A.) Trading and Development Syndicate, based in London with branch offices in Mombasa, published a pamphlet entitled *Big Game Shooting in East Africa*. The pamphlet contained articles and information for the sportsman visiting East Africa, and also many advertisements featuring the facilities offered by the Syndicate. The third page of this pamphlet, which aimed exclusively at the big-game hunter, carried an advertisement for a British-made "National" touring car of 18-22 h.p., indicating that outfitters clearly had an idea of its bright future on safari even if there is little evidence that automobiles were used on any scale at this time. In any case, cars were popular enough by 1911-12, especially among settlers and government officials, that two motor garages had opened in Nairobi to do the very necessary repairs.[530]

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[528] Ibid, p. 33.
[529] Ibid, p. 33.
[530] Christine Nicholls, *Red Strangers: The White Tribe of Kenya* (London: Timewell Press, 2005), pp. 88-89.

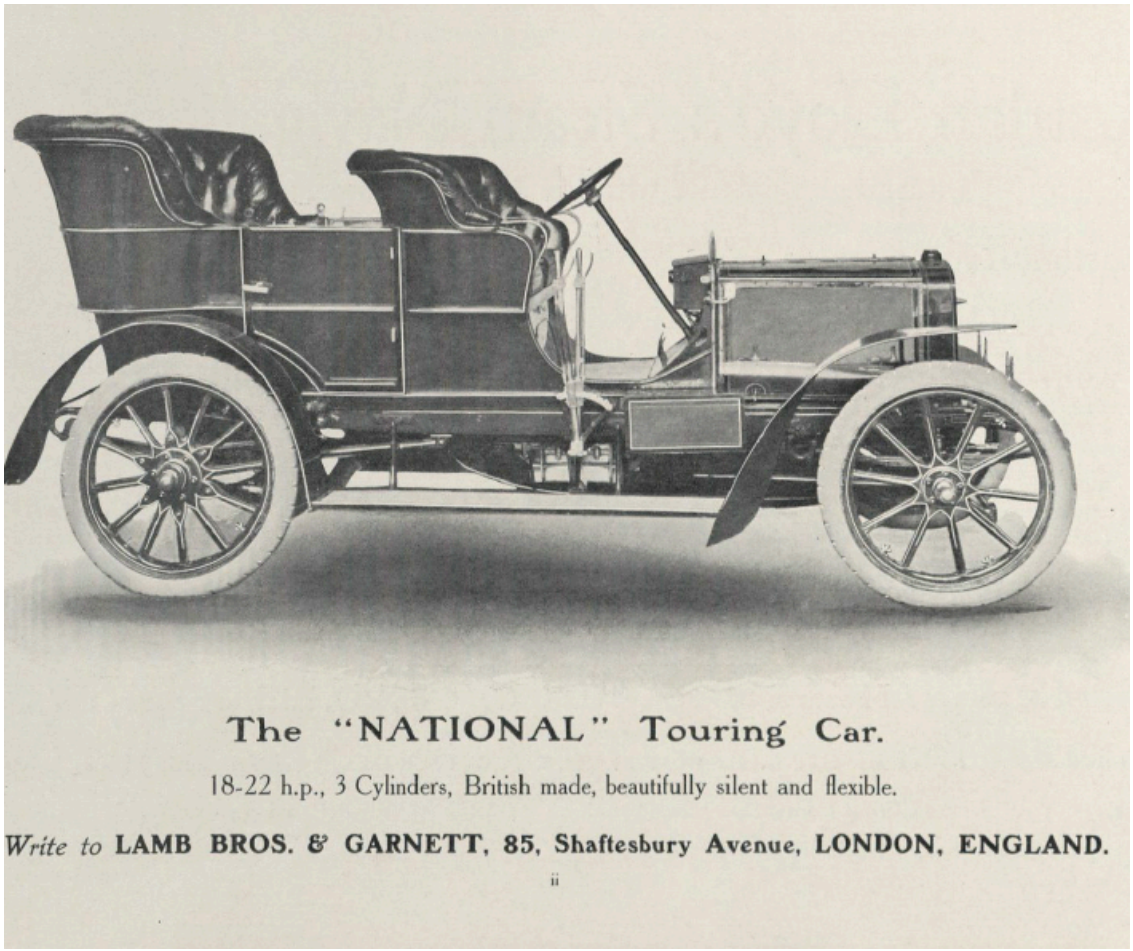

Illustration 24: A touring car advertised to big-game hunters in 1905, made by Rose Bros, Ltd. and sold by Lamb Bros. & Garnett.[531]

The earliest safari car used commonly in East Africa was reputedly the Ford Model T, produced between 1908 and 1927. "The old T Ford had a long run," recalled Tony Dyer, a professional hunter. "They were light and their construction was utterly simple. They were still running when some of the later models of other makes were already retired."[532] Fords

[531] Source: *Big Game Shooting in East Africa* (Mombasa Trading and Development Syndicate, 1905). Early cars like this were soon overtaken by the Ford Model T, but this advertisement illustrates that early automobiles were marketed to big-game hunters in Africa long before they were adopted on a large scale.
[532] Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 310.

became popular everywhere because of their quality and low cost ("No car gives you more for less," was their slogan), but Fords may have received a boost as the preferred safari car because Newland and Tarlton became East Africa's principal importers of the brand. Newland and Tarlton had made some limited sales of automobiles before the war, selling Ford cars and delivery vans as well as offering models produced by Darracq, Mitchell, and B.S.A.[533] After the war Newland and Tarlton became agents for Ford cars and lorries, offering Ford service, complete or partial overhauls, and genuine Ford parts.[534] The ready supply of Ford automobiles on the premises of the leading safari company undoubtedly introduced many professional hunters to the brand and made them familiar with its design. When professional hunters employed by Newland and Tarlton entered the premises of the company, they saw Ford cars all around. When they outfitted a motorized safari, they used Ford cars owned or sold by Newland and Tarlton. When they needed repairs, they received them in Newland and Tarlton's Ford motor garage using parts imported by the company. Quite apart from Ford's dominance of the automobile industry in the early twentieth century, professional hunters learned to use Ford owing to Newland and Tarlton's broader business interests as Ford's importers and merchants for East Africa.

Thereafter the number and variety of safari cars expanded considerably. As far as safari cars were concerned, Dyer wrote, the Model T Ford was followed in popularity by the large Buick Tourer, which was introduced in 1914 and used into the 1940s.[535] As early as 1927, George Eastman wrote that in Nairobi "there are a great many automobiles, mostly touring cars and trucks. Ford, Chevrolet, and Buick seem to be the favorites."[536] Eastman's safari party

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533 Advertisement in *The East African Standard*, 12 July 1913, p. 24.
534 See, for example, Advertisement in *Dar es Salaam Times,* 17 March 1920, p. 4.
535 Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 310.
536 George Eastman, *Chronicles of an African Trip* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith Company, Inc., 1927), p. 19.

used Chevrolets that were serviced by a mechanic brought over from Detroit. The Prince of Wales in 1928 used an array of vehicles of different makes, including a custom-made Wolseley that rode on extra soft springs and had a low set of gears. When his "safari proper" set off in 1928, the motor caravan consisted of four Albion lorries (i.e. cargo trucks), Finch Hatton's Hudson car, Lord Delamere's Buick, two Willys-Knight box cars, and a Rolls-Royce, most of them loaned or driven by local officials and settlers to aid the Prince's safari.[537]

Safari firms also imported the International truck, and by the 1930s Dyer believed it had become the "most coveted hunting car," built on the classic body type, with a one ton chassis and two wheel drive."[538] Large safari firms like Safariland, the successor to Newland and Tarlton run by Leslie Tarlton, would keep many cars and lorries on hand, and rent more as needed, but even smaller firms made this very necessary investment. African Guides, Ltd, for example, a firm run by Philip Percival and Bror Blixen, registered three new automobiles in 1938 for purposes of "safari in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda:" two lorries with a carrying capacity of two tons each, and one small car of ½ ton capacity.[539] This was the fleet needed for a typical safari; they were probably adding to or replacing automobiles already owned by African Guides. When a client desired to use an outfitter's fleet, the automobiles would be leased for the duration of the trip, usually at an inclusive rate that included fuel, maintenance, and drivers. Clients also had the option to buy cars outright and sell upon their departure, which many did, especially for longer safaris in which the costs of a lease grew too large.

Indigenous Kenyans became professional drivers and mechanics for safari companies and adjusted their skills to suit the needs of the motorized safari. Such work represented a new

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[537] Patrick Chalmers, Compiled from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits: 1928 and 1930* (London: Philip Allan, 1934), pp. 107-08.
[538] Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 310.
[539] Statement of Applications Received, App. No. TLB 8, African Guides, *Kenya Gazette,* 3 May 1938, p. 474.

spin on the old theme of African employees fulfilling the transportation needs of a safari far below the wages warranted by their actual skills (though, admittedly, often above what other indigenous Kenyans earned). Although Kenyans were driving buses and lorries throughout the region by this time, the particular demands of the hospitality industry required drivers, mechanics, and other safari workers to be absolutely reliable and also reasonably good with guests. As Anthony Dyer, a professional hunter and president of the EAPHA, wrote of this essential role:

> The truck driver is far more than just a truck driver. He must be able to take a truck over roads that some people would worry about in a Jeep. He must be able to repair all the inevitable breakages and punctures that are daily routine for an off-the-road safari. In the old days, one might spend days on end off any made roads. Often, the truck driver has to move the whole camp on a several days' journey on his own responsibility, and then set up camp at the end of an arduous trip.[540]

Needless to say, without this ready source of skilled, reliable, and comparatively cheap labor, long safaris lasting many weeks would have cost considerably more and thereby weakened Kenya's bargaining power in comparison with safaris offered by competing destinations.

Automobiles imports increased quickly after the war, making cars quite prevalent in Kenya by the mid 1920s. The *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda* explained in 1926 that the trade in vehicles of various kinds was a large industry in East Africa owing to the vast distances of the country, the rough terrain, and the high demand among farmers, ranchers, and hunters for this rapid and versatile form of transportation. To give merely several sample years that underline the prevalence of the automobile shortly after the war and the postwar economic crises, Kenya imported a total of 945 "motor cars" in 1924 (valued at £157,963), 1,558 in 1925 (£274,143), and 1,403 in 1926 (£250,453).[541] The average imported value per car over these

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[540] Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 27.

[541] *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda: For the Year ended 31st December, 1926*. E.G. Bale, Acting Commissioner of Customs, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya and Uganda Protectorate (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 15.

three years increased slowly from about £167 each to £178 each, although the actual selling prices were much higher owing to costs of shipping, customs duties of 30 percent, and the normal markup of retailers.[542] Most of the cars came from the United States – 61% in 1924, 63% in 1925, and 61% again in 1926. Canada, which manufactured many "American" brands of cars, was the second largest source of imports at 25%, 20%, and 18%, respectively. Great Britain was a distant third at 13% for all three years.[543] Most of these cars went to European settlers, who possessed the required capital and earned high incomes, a reality borne out by the fact that Uganda, which had a robust export economy and large African population, imported only 234 cars in 1925 and 222 in 1926.[544] Tanganyika's trade records indicate a similarly small number of imported cars in comparison with Kenya, divided into different categories by type and best displayed in the table below:

Year	Motor Cars (Touring)	Motor Cars and Lorries
1923	12 (£1,680)	10 (£2,338)
1924	71 (£12,066)	48 (£10,194)
1925	139 (£25,830)	230 (£46,506)
1926	208 (£37,713)	296 (£63,079)

Table 6: Imports of Motorcars to Tanganyika.[545]

This data, though not comprehensive, is intended simply to show that already by the mid 1920s, as soon as the postwar economic crises passed, imports of cars to Kenya had reached significant levels, placing a considerable number of vehicles at the disposal of the

[542] The Kenya Customs Tariff Ordinance of 25 May 1922 raised duties in motor-cars and motor-car parts to 30 percent. *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda, for the year ended December 31st, 1922* (London, 1923), p. 8.
[543] *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda: For the Year ended 31st December, 1926*. E.G. Bale, Acting Commissioner of Customs, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya and Uganda Protectorate (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 15.
[544] Ibid, p. 15.
[545] *Tanganyika Territory Trade Report for the Year 1926*, Ernest Adams, Comptroller of Customs (Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1927).

safari industry. Thereafter, the exact number of automobile imports varied year by year and took expected dives in the worst years of the Depression, but automobile imports to East Africa, particularly to Kenya, increased steadily throughout the interwar period. Toward the end of the 1930, for example, after the worst years of the Depression but preceding the international crisis that began in 1938, the three East African territories together imported 2,083 cars and 2,379 lorries in 1936; and 2,568 cars and 3,157 lorries in 1937.[546] In Kenya, automobiles had become a fixture and could be found everywhere throughout the Colony. By 1939, as Robert Foran wrote, "no self-respecting European in that colony would be without [an automobile]. They are almost as common throughout Kenya and the neighbouring territories as the ticks on the Athi Plains."[547]

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The advent of the automobile brought numerous changes to the safari tourism industry, affecting the methods of travel and the organization of the industry as well as the experience of the traveler. First, the automobile rendered virtually all of the region's hunting grounds accessible to the traveler and allowed distant places to be reached with an unprecedented degree of speed and ease. The transportation revolution previously inaugurated by the Uganda Railway was, in a sense, extended outward from Nairobi in all directions to everywhere a road or dusty path allowed the car to travel. Proper roads were poor and in many places nonexistent, but patient driving could make a way over most dry tracks and "native paths." By 1923, Leslie Tarlton reputedly drove all the way from Nairobi to Marsabit, a distance of about 330 miles.[548]

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[546] *Report on Economic and Commercial Conditions in British East Africa* (Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar), By A.E. Pollard, Trade Commissioner in East Africa (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1939), p. 45.
[547] W. Robert Foran, *Transport in Many Lands* (New York: Frederick Warne & Co, Ltd., 1939), p. 18.
[548] Leslie Tarlton to Evans, 29 November 1923, Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Library of Congress. Cited in Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 83.

The Vanderbilts drove 200 miles in 1934, but it took them all day "because the roads are so awful."[549] The Serengeti fell within a day's drive of Nairobi, benefiting from a road constructed by the military during the war. Although early safari vehicles were rough, uncomfortable, noisy, smelly, and occasionally unreliable, they were a vast improvement over the alternative methods of transport, allowing many more visiting hunters, invariably operating on a fixed schedule, to reach remote districts where the best hunting could be found.

It may well be the case, in fact, that the automobile rescued the hunting industry just at the moment when the pressures of hunting and the annual harvest of game had pushed many species into remote lands that were difficult and time-consuming for traditional caravan safaris to reach. Blayney Percival, the chief game warden, recognized this problem as early as 1919. "The open highlands, which a few years ago were purely a game hunter's shooting grounds… has today turned into farms," he wrote. "Shooting in British East Africa will in future be a different class of sport to what it was only a few years ago" owing to the growing need for sportsmen to "go further afield and visit less healthy districts" in order to obtain shooting as good as in former times.[550]

The automobile alleviated this problem and promised to open a vast new range of land that had been largely neglected by earlier hunting parties owing to inaccessibility. This in turn made it possible to see more game and thus to select better trophies. Some hunters, in fact, believed the motorcar gave wealthy tourists an unfair advantage. One "sportsman with modest means" complained in a letter to the editor of *The Times* (London) in 1927 that "the motor-car has driven the game far afield," but the Game Department refused to act because its coffers are "enriched by the contributions of wealthy tourists who are prepared to spend £1,000 or more on a safari by employment of white-hunters, high powered motor-cars and lorries, with gangs

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[549] Lucille P. Vanderbilt, *Safari: Some Fun! Some Fun!* (Privately printed, 1936), p. 45.
[550] "Annual Report of the Game Warden for the Year 1918-19" (A. Blayney Percival). KNA: KW/23/172.

of gun-bearers and porters — to say nothing of taxidermists and cinema photographers!"[551] The question naturally arose of whether any pristine areas would be spared from the onslaught. The automobile had so markedly improved the efficiency of safari travel that some foresaw the day when too many visitors would take to the field. A.T.A. Ritchie, who succeeded Percival as chief game warden, reflected on the matter in 1928:

> It is my belief that a reaction against the present unnatural conditions of hunting [with a motorcar] will set in; and that those who are out for sport, as opposed to mere notoriety, will begin to insist on going to those grounds where cars cannot penetrate. Either this will happen, or hunting – African hunting with lethal weapons – will, to all intents, cease to be considered a sport, or even a reasonable pastime; and the camera will rule supreme. So may it be![552]

The corollary to fast and easy travel was the "gradual disappearance of the old safari porter."[553] In the early years of the safari industry, there was no feasible alternative to the employment of human porters to transport the equipment, supplies, and food necessary to make a long safari possible. Most experts had recommended thirty porters for each visiting hunter in the party. Newland and Tarlton in fact thrived and found its competitive advantages in its ability to organize and manage logistics for the large, pre-war, caravan safaris then necessary to maintain luxury in the bush. Safari firms in the 1920s continued to use a limited number of porters for travel in areas that were difficult to reach by automobile, but the institution of human porterage gradually went extinct. Harnessing the power of machines for safari travel overturned the old arrangements of the safari, eventually abrogating all associations of the term with the foot "caravan" from which it originated. Many guides and safari firms welcomed this

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551 Letter to the Editor, *The Times* (London), 29 December 1927.

552 "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1928" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 14. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

553 "Game Department Annual Report, 1925" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

change. "The modern white hunter," remarked J.A. Hunter, "can hardly realize the trouble and difficulties inherent in the old-fashioned foot safari."[554]

The size of caravans in the age of human porterage had consumed a great deal of organizational effort on the part of professional hunters and cost the client dearly. Much time had been consumed dividing the contents of an expedition into tidy loads that could weigh, by law, no more than sixty pounds for each porter. Since most safari parties employed porters from multiple tribes, additional energy was expended keeping order between them. Porters were also comparatively expensive, despite their low wages, owing to sheer numbers as well as the food and supplies they required. With each porter added to the ranks, yet more provisions were needed to keep the caravan in the field. In addition to logistical difficulties, porters also presented the need to manage the human element. Occasionally a hunter would awake in the morning, miles from the nearest town, to discover that some of his porters had departed during the night to return to their wives and families, tend to their animals and farms, or otherwise escape thankless labor obligations. "Unless you have had to endure the emotional outbreaks of several dozen porters," Hunter wrote, "you can hardly appreciate the sterling qualities of a lorry."[555]

The main key to the end of human porterage was not so much the automobile in the sense of the familiar Ford Model T, but rather the availability after the war of reliable lorries, or cargo trucks, to carry gear into the field. If, in former times, experts recommended thirty porters for each visiting hunter, and if each porter carried approximately sixty pounds, the total weight of the cargo would weigh only 1,800 pounds, slightly below the capacity of a typical one-ton lorry, or cargo truck. Moreover, significantly fewer provisions were needed because the safari party no longer needed to transport food, tents, bedding, and other provisions for the

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[554] J.A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 36.
[555] Ibid, p. 36.

porters themselves. Most safaris used one or two lorries and the same number of modified safari cars for the passengers. When George Eastman, the head of Eastman-Kodak, went on safari in 1926 with Carl and Mary Akeley and Martin and Osa Johnson, they used five trucks and two passenger cars in what Philip Percival, their guide, said was the "largest motor safari to leave Nairobi so far."[556] "The days of porterage are over," Eastman remarked. It is "too slow" and porters were "too difficult to obtain and maintain."[557] He added that, owing to the motorcar, they needed only about 35 natives to cook, drive the trucks, tend to the camp, act as gun-bearers, and fulfill other duties, whereas in former times they would have needed at least 150 porters for a safari of that scale. The safari lasted four months and covered over 4,000 miles, an impossible feat in the days of human porterage.[558]

The replacement of safari porters with mechanized transport had two further effects. The first was that, for the safari industry at least, the automobile alleviated an acute labor shortage that occurred in the immediate postwar years. The indigenous population had suffered heavily from war, famine, and disease (both human and animal) and faced considerable obstacles in renewing agricultural production and trade. The influx of settlers, meanwhile, required more labor on European farms than the indigenous population could provide. The government, by far the biggest employer in the colony, further disrupted the labor markets by making sudden, enormous demands upon the African population to build the new Uasin Gishu railway.[559] European settlers had such difficulty finding labor that the government issued the infamous "Ainsworth circular," which required government officials to recruit (critics said to "force") indigenous Africans to work for settler enterprises, sparking a major debate in the

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[556] George Eastman, *Chronicles of an African Trip* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith Company, Inc., 1927), p. 32.
[557] Ibid, p. 32.
[558] Ibid, p. 86.
[559] Elspeth Huxley, *White Man's Country: Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya,* Vol. II: 1914-1931 (London: Macmillan, 1935), p. 57.

Colonial Office as well as among the British public.[560] Labor shortages rumbled on until the mid 1920s. Had the safari industry needed, as before the war, to employ thousands of porters to provide transport for its clients, it is likely that this labor shortage would have seriously hobbled the industry. In the event, the crisis escaped almost without notice thanks to the adoption of the automobile for main burdens of safari travel.

The second major effect that resulted from the end of human porterage concerned its economic impact on the safari trade. Expenditures on safari transport largely shifted from African porters to foreign automobile manufactures and those who produced the oil, fuel, and replacement parts to keep automobiles running. The result was that ordinary African porters, who lacked skills and were often recruited *ad hoc* from villages throughout the territory, lost contact with the safari industry and no longer received its employment. A porter's wages before the war were exceedingly small, of course, hovering around 10 rupees per month (13s. 4d), but they were often higher than settlers paid for labor on a farm, and porters were provided with some manufactured goods, such as blankets, water bottles, cooking pots, and even tents. For villagers whose primary needs were met by the traditional subsistence economy, the infusion of money and manufactured goods in any amount had a perceptible impact. Human porterage meant, in other words, that at least some safari expenditure, however little, worked its way into the indigenous African economy.

Following the advent of the automobile, safari companies reduced their African staff down to a few positions that required training and experience – gun-bearers, trackers, skinners, cooks, guides, servants, tent boys, and a skeletal staff of porters for challenging terrain. These safari laborers, spending long months of every year away on safari under the regimented

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[560] The labor circular was issued by the governor, Sir Edward Northey, over Ainsworth's name. Robert M. Maxon, 'Ainsworth, John (1864–1946)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/94556, accessed 6 July 2015].

routines of white safari leaders, became increasingly alienated from the indigenous economy and refashioned instead into "professionals" of a Westernized tourism industry, trained to act and talk a certain way and always to cater to the clients. Conversely, the tourist lost contact with the last remaining remnant of what one might call "authentic" Africa, or at least of the ordinary African. As the Prince of Wales wrote of his safari in 1928:

> [H]e who does his safari by car is out of touch with the local natives, the natural go-betweens 'twixt him and the Africa he desires to know. He may be in the personal charge of the best guides, hunters and gun-bearers that money can procure, but he has little opportunity of getting to know them intimately, of studying them and their ways, of being treated by them as a man and not a monkey.[561]

The safari increasingly became, like tourism elsewhere, an experience in which foreign visitors observed a strange land from a carefully organized, sanitized, imposed distance that kept their feet firmly in the Westernized colonial world.

The increased efficiency of motorized safari travel allowed tourist safaris to achieve a degree of luxury unthinkable in the pre-automobile age. Safari companies often sought to distinguish themselves and attract clientele by offering a wider variety of luxuries than their competitors. Motorized lorries made it possible to enhance the visitor's experience with a whole range of conveniences preciously regarded as impossible or superfluous. Tents, furniture, and camp equipment grew ever more elaborate in the 1920s and 1930s. Innovative safari companies began carrying generators into the bush to supply electricity to bathtubs, toilet facilities, and the Electrolux icebox (introduced in 1925) – all items whose weight and bulk could only be handled by automobiles. To keep the cars, lorries, and other equipment running, they took along the equivalent of a small machine shop as well. Some clients demanded six-course meals of the kind found in the best hotels in London and Paris, washed down with the

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[561] The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales by Patrick Chalmers (London: Philip Allan, 1934), pp. 109-110.

best wines and spirits. Luxury safaris grew so elaborate once the benefits of the motorcar were realized that often two or three professional guides would go along: one to handle the supplies and the trucks, one to keep the clients entertained, and one to find game and guide the clients in the field (although the allocation of tasks between the three was interchangeable).[562] Evelyn Waugh summed up the nature of this revolution when he wrote shortly after the Second World War that the word "safari [is] now used to designate a luxurious motor tour."[563]

If automobiles allowed safari travel to grow more luxurious for the richer class of tourist, they also enabled safaris to become shorter and therefore more affordable for those of more modest means. In former times, the length and basic provisioning requirements of the safari were held up to a certain level by the necessity of employing porters and making time-consuming expeditions into the field. There was no way to make a safari fast and cheap owing to the long travel times involved and the provisions that foot caravans required. Following the advent of the motorized safari, it became possible to make quick trips that covered lots of ground and secured a reasonably good bag. More than that, the ease and affordability of motorized travel expanded the kinds of wildlife tourism that visitors undertook. Freed from the time and expense of the traditional safari and the expectations that accompanied an intricately planned expedition (during which, presumably, many considered it a travesty not to hunt), the new variety of tourist – using fast cars on quick, affordable trips – increasingly found satisfaction by simply driving through wild places, armed with nothing but a camera or a good pair of binoculars.

Ultimately, as we shall see in detail in a later chapter, hunting with a camera became a leading attraction of the safari, and the automobile functioned as the "key to photographing

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[562] Luxury safaris of this kind are described by J.A. Hunter in *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 56.
[563] Evelyn Waugh, *A Tourist in Africa* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1960), p. 82.

game," as G.H. Anderson put it.[564] Contrary to expectations, the size, noise, smell, and speed of cars did not frighten or disturb game to the extent one might imagine. Rather, animals tended not to connect the car with humans, nor even to regard them as a threat. Tourists in a safari car could, in general, approach animals within a very short distance and snap photographs even of dangerous game without putting themselves in harm's way. Denys Finch Hatton informed the readers of the *Times* in 1927, for example, that lions in particular could easily be approached by car and did not pay the cameras any mind, submitting to photographs and films taken anywhere between 70 feet and 50 yards away, a range impossible (as well as very dangerous) for any person on foot.[565] Many held out hope that photographing and observing animals would become ever more common, and there is much evidence that the transition from gun to camera was already taking place. "Thanks to the facilities of motor transport," A.T.A. Ritchie wrote in 1928, "thousands can now see game and photograph it in its natural surroundings."[566]

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It must not be supposed that the automobile caused a revolution in the safari without bringing its own set of problems. One of the commonest complaints among hunters, particularly of the older generation, was that the automobile took away the romance and charm of the traditional caravan safari. "Very little of the romance, sport, and adventure is left with modern big game hunting," G.H. Anderson wrote in 1946. "I may be rather prejudiced having done all my early safaris with porters, but to my mind these accursed motors and 'planes have

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564 G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 171.

565 Denys Finch Hatton, "Lions at Their Ease," *Times* [London, England] 21 January 1928: p. 11. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 29 June 2015.

566 "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1928" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 13. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

taken away a great deal of the fascination and sporting element of big game."[567] Alan Black, another old-timer, held much the same view. "What sort of hunting do you call it," he asked, "when you hunt by car? […] Hunting in East Africa is over."[568] Old-timers like Anderson and Black had no choice but to adopt modern conveniences if they wished to keep pace with the competition, of course, but they did so grudgingly – in Black's case, hardly at all. Only in certain areas where brush was too thick and terrain too difficult would porters continue to be used. Norman Carr, a professional guide at mid-century, explained how the automobile contributed to the loss of the sporting element:

> [T]here is no doubt that a true sportsman will go to endless trouble, and perhaps save up for a lifetime, in order to afford a trip to Africa to shoot a buffalo. If you were to suggest that he could satisfy this urge equally well and at considerably less expense by shooting a cow on a neighbor's farm, he would be horrified. For, of course, he does not want to *kill* a buffalo; he wants to *hunt* it. He seeks adventure and excitement — and the thousand other emotions which contribute to the magic of a safari in Africa. The greater his privation and danger the greater will be his satisfaction and sense of achievement.[569]

The motorcar was often opposed by hunters, in other words, because it made the hunt too easy and too accessible to the inexperienced and unsportsmanlike shooter, and because, in the end, it diminished the "adventure and excitement" as well as the privation of the hunt. As Robert Foran wrote, "Motor-transport has killed that picturesque form of travel in Africa, which is a matter of sincere regret" for those who found romance in the old-fashioned foot safari.[570]

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[567] G.H. Anderson, M.C. *African Safaris*. Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), pp. 154-55.

[568] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of the Early East African Professional Hunters* (Dannevirke, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), pp. 59-61. The manuscript is based on original interviews with professional hunters conducted by Emily Host mainly in the 1940s and 1950s. Host, born in New Zealand, lived in Kenya with her husband until 1956, during which time she conducted interviews with famous "white hunters" to preserve the records of a generation that was passing. Although she died in 1979, her husband made arrangements to have the manuscript published in New Zealand with the aid of editors and several knowledgeable professional hunters from Kenya.

[569] Norman Carr, *The White Impala: The Story of a Game Ranger* (London: Collins, 1969), p. 118.

[570] W. Robert Foran, *Transport in Many Lands* (New York: Frederick Warne, 1939), p. 248.

Then there were the technical difficulties that made new demands on the safari industry. The automobile rescued the safari industry from porterage and drastically reduced the volume of human labor required, but it also cost time and money to operate and maintain a fleet of reliable cars. George Eastman showed astonishment in the diary he kept during his 1926 safari over the cost in East Africa of oil and its derivatives, particularly gasoline, which fetched prices fully three times higher than in the United States. "What this country needs," he thought, "is cheap oil – crude oil for its streets, kerosene to prevent mosquito breeding and to run its tractors, and gasoline for its motorcars." The extortionate cost of oil was "hampering the development of the country."[571] Cheap fuel certainly would have pleased the leaders of the safari industry, who held an interest in running a cost-effective operation.

Equally serious was the cost and difficulty of obtaining parts for the safari cars that continually got battered by rough roads and terrain. Safari cars and lorries frequently broke down or became stuck in sand and mud, costing time and expense when a client was already paying dearly to see things go well. In the absence of the required spare parts, safari managers, drivers, and mechanics had to become great auto-mechanics and improvisers, or hire employees who were, to conduct the safari without undue delay or expense. One of the more interesting sidelights of the safari lore is the ingenuity used to keep automobiles running. One professional guide wrote with a touch of understatement about the "quite exciting bush repairs done by ingenious and determined hunters."

> A man out of engine oil [he explained], and with his bearings run, once brought in an old Ford on bearings made out of eland rawhide and a sump full of eland fat. He would do a few miles, let it cool down, and then start again. When the springs are all gone, hunters have lashed the axle to the chassis with green wood. Patches cut from old tires have been bolted over the gashes in a broken tyre. When all the wheel nuts from one wheel have been lost, a nut from each of the other three wheels has brought the car back home. Running out of hydraulic fluid is not desperate because soapy

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[571] George Eastman, *Chronicles of an African Trip* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith, 1927), p. 86.

> water will substitute quite well. Yellow laundry soap rubbed onto the outside of a leaky petrol tank will often stop the leak.[572]

In the interwar years no less than before, the professional white hunter was expected to be a jack-of-all-trades.

By far the most serious consequence that followed the introduction of the automobile concerned its deleterious effect on wildlife conservation. Motorized transport made it easy for both sportsmen and poachers to kill game. "No aspect of civilization has more increased the complexity of game preservation problems than the advent into general use of motor-cars," wrote A.T.A. Ritchie, the Chief Game Warden of Kenya, in his *Annual Report* of 1925. "Areas previously accessible only at certain seasons with larger safaris and much human endeavor have in consequence fallen open to a few cases of petrol and a gallon of oil… Each year the number grows of those whose shooting is all done from cars."[573] Radclyffe Dugmore remarked similarly in 1923 that "there is no one factor which is playing so important a part in the killing of big game" as the motorcar.[574] By 1927, Ritchie was calling the motorcar "that deadly enemy of game preservation."[575]

According to such critics – and they were innumerable – the automobile damaged the sport of hunting and contributed to excessive slaughter by virtually eliminating the natural constraints of time and distance that had hitherto provided wildlife with reprieve. The increased speed and efficiency of safari travel meant that a hunter was able to find and kill more animals in a shorter space of time. Motorized safaris were likewise difficult for the

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[572] Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 315.
[573] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1925" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
[574] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, "Plea for Big Game," *The Field* (London), 5 July 1923.
[575] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1927" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

authorities to monitor. H.E. Fletcher Frost, one of Kenya's honorary game wardens, remarked in 1923 that "the motorcar presents a very difficult problem." It facilitated poaching, he explained, and allowed the killers in their automobiles to "slip through, commit every sort of misdeed miles away in the remote areas, and get back before [their] very existence was heard of."[576]

Apart from the increased efficiency of hunting by car, the automobile also enabled its own set of abuses. Some sportsmen began shooting from cars and, even worse, taking advantage of this efficient means of transport to kill appalling numbers of animals in short periods of time. A few stories emerged of people using cars to run down animals, or shooting them by night under the glare of headlights.[577] One guilty party involved George Eastman, who shot plains game from a car, according to a manuscript left by a companion, during a safari outfitted by Safariland and guided by the distinguished Leslie Tarlton.[578] Denys Finch Hatton, already an avowed advocate of the motorcar because of its potential to aid wildlife photography, drew attention to these abuses in a series of letters to the *Times* of London in 1929, excoriating those who used cars to slaughter wildlife indiscriminately and to engage in other unsportsmanlike behavior.[579] The guilty parties thus included not only poachers, but also local white residents and a few tourists who committed the offenses apparently with the acquiescence of their professional guides.

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[576] H.E. Fletcher Frost (Hon. Game Warden), "Kenya's Game," 5 November 1923. Reprinted in the *East African Standard, Mombasa Times,* and *Uganda Argus* on 11 February 1924. KNA: KW/27/4.
[577] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1928" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 7. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
[578] Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), p. 85.
[579] Denys Finch Hatton, "Hunting from Motorcars," *Times* [London, England] 3 July 1929, p. 17. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 29 June 2015; Denys Finch Hatton, Letter to the Editor: "Hunting from Cars," *Times* [London, England] 10 July 1929, p. 12. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 29 June 2015.

Such complaints became so common in the safari world and among those attuned to conservation issues that the Kenya Game Department was finally compelled to act in 1930-31. For years the only existing legislation concerning the automobile had stated in ambiguous terms that it was "illegal to use a motor vehicle for the purpose of pursuing or capturing game." "This was definitely unsatisfactory," Ritchie, the chief game warden, wrote. "No one knew what it meant, or even what it intended – not even I."[580] At one extreme, the law could be taken to mean that sportsmen could not travel by car while on safari. At the other extreme, in Ritchie's memorable phrase, the law could be taken to allow everything except "[driving] a car on top of a fleeing beast."[581] This unsatisfactory provisional law was soon superseded by a new set of regulations to suit the needs of the automobile age. In 1930, Kenya hosted a Game Conference that Ritchie called "perhaps the most important event there has ever been in the history of game preservation in Kenya."[582] It was presided over by Sir Edward Grigg, the governor of Kenya, and examined game policy in all its aspects. Among the attendees of the conference was Major R.W.G. Hingston, who was making a comprehensive tour of East and Central Africa on behalf of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, and under the aegis of the Colonial Office. It was at this conference that Hingston, with broad support from the attendees, championed "the creation of national parks in Africa," and laid the policy foundations that would result after 1945 in the creation of Kenya's celebrated national parks.[583]

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580 "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1931" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 15. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
581 Ibid, p. 15.
582 "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1930" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983), p. 24.
583 Ibid.

In the meantime, of course, the principal issue acted upon was the problem of the motorcar. On May 8th, 1931, the government issued a proclamation dealing with motor vehicles and airplanes in relation to game, which established the following essentials in the new laws.[584] First, it prohibited using vehicles or airplanes to approach "within shooting range" of any animal for the purpose of hunting, killing, capturing, or unduly disturbing. Second, it prohibited using vehicles or airplanes to drive or stampede game. Third, it outlawed shooting at any animal from inside a vehicle or aircraft. Finally, most importantly for the safari industry and its clients, the new laws prohibited shooting animals within two hundred yards of a vehicle or plane. Clients were typically rich men accustomed to getting their way, of course, while their guides were usually men of modest means. This naturally led to a number of abuses. Yet simply having laws on the books that prohibited a basic set of behaviors gave the honorable professional hunter a pretext for prohibiting his clients from certain behavior with the full backing of the authorities.

The general thrust of the law was clear: automobiles could be used to traverse the backcountry, to drive through hunting areas, to locate game, and even to approach herds within reason, but actual shooting had to occur on foot away from the vehicles. More broadly, Ritchie explained, the law sought to establish several general principles. The first was to "allow all reasonable use of the modern means of transport, for these had replaced – indeed, rendered almost unobtainable – the old [porter safari]." The second was to prevent animals from associating automobiles with danger, "for an obvious duty is for us to try to leave game fearless of cars, so that future generations of photographic and other students and sightseers may benefit, and enjoy the same pleasures amid the wild life as we do today." Finally, the new regulations sought to "maintain a high standard of sportsmanship as the easier conditions of

584 "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1931" (A.T.A. Ritchie), pp. 14-15. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).

modern safari routine allow." Tanganyika soon followed Kenya's lead and enacted almost identical legislation, according to Ritchie, and he believed "the other territories may well do likewise."[585]

Ritchie's unconcealed optimism with the terms of the new motorcar laws in 1931 should not be taken to mean that the problem ceased to exist. Following a report that government had confiscated 3,543 pounds of illegally killed rhino horn between 1932 and 1934 (representing probably over 350 rhino), Ritchie wrote that "the Game Department are, I am sure, doing all they can, but the motor car is the menace."[586] By 1936, the newly formed East African Professional Hunters' Association began speaking in general terms of the "motor car problem," remarking that it was the greatest issue the Game Departments and the Association had to cope with up to the present time.[587] Nor was it only a problem involving poachers. "The party that really does cause a lot of harm to game [using automobiles] is the local one," the EAPHA report continued.[588] Residents of Kenya were making full use of weekends and Bank Holidays to make fast and aggressive shooting trips all over the country. Others in the country saw the legal killing of elephants as a way to supplement their incomes through the sale of tusks, and the motorcar naturally contributed to success in such endeavors, even for inexperienced shooters. If there was a silver lining in the rapid destruction of game caused by the automobile, it was that the sudden and widespread prevalence of the automobile for hunting compelled early proposals to establish reserves and national parks (such as those resulting from

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[585] Ibid, pp. 15-16.
[586] J.M. Silvester to C.W. Hobley, 27 August, 1936. Box 8, *Records of the East African Professional Hunters' Association,* Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida at Gainesville.
[587] "Report of the East African Professional Hunters' Association," 16 January 1936. Box 8, *Records of the East African Professional Hunters' Association,* Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida at Gainesville.
[588] Ibid.

the game conference held in Kenya in 1930) to restrict hunting in important areas of the colony, and in general made the public more alive to the imperatives of wildlife conservation.

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Kenya's safari tourism industry entered the twenty-year peace between the wars under a cloud of economic and financial crises, acute labor shortage, and upheaval in the industry following the collapse of Newland and Tarlton. The advantages that Kenya had established as a tourist destination in the decade preceding the war might have been lost but for several important developments that rescued the safari industry at a critical moment of transition. One of the most important, as this chapter has shown, was the widespread adoption of the automobile for safari travel. The speed and efficiency of the motorized safari reduced logistical difficulties and lowered the barriers of entry for new firms. By shortening travel times across the country, the automobile allowed tourists to spend more time in the field rather than marching on the trail. It enabled safari outfitters to furnish their wealthy clients with an unprecedented degree of luxury, but also to expand tourist options at the lower end of the scale for budget-conscious visitors who desired to take short and inexpensive trips. Before long, of course, the automobile became an indispensable feature of the photographic safari, and the primary, in some cases the only, means of enjoying wildlife in the Kenya National Parks.

The chapters to follow show how the advent of the automobile, though necessarily in the background, occurred at a time of profound change in Kenya, partly independent of the automobile revolution. Yet the automobile extended and reinforced these changes in the years between 1918 and 1939. Chapter 6 concentrates on two new tourist options of especial importance to Kenya's safari industry: the opening up of Tanganyika's Serengeti Plains as an alternative destination for hunters, and the rapidly increasing popularity of the photographic safari, including the short, budget tour. Chapter 7 describes the rise of a new generation of safari outfitters that offered a vastly expanded range of services to the visitor. Chapter 8

examines the upper end of the scale by describing how Kenya's safari industry, aided by the automobile, continued to capture the ever-important market of wealthy and distinguished visitors, royalty and aristocrats, and companies paying top dollar to produce films and motion-pictures on location in East Africa. In an industry based so closely upon the modes of travel – indeed, whose very name derives from the caravan expedition – it is hardly surprising that the widespread adoption of a new transport technology played such an important role in its subsequent historical development.

Chapter 6: New Alternatives to the Traditional Kenya Hunt: Northern Tanganyika and the Photographic Safari, 1918-1939

One gets the impression from memoirs and contemporary literature that Kenya's safari trade grew considerably between the wars and became a "golden age" of the African safari. This impression, although true for the safari *industry* as a whole, is not borne out by the sales of licenses to visiting *hunters*, which remained well below half the figures attained before 1914. Indeed, the extent to which this perception of growth is accepted by contemporary observers presents an apparent dilemma for the historian concerned to square the available statistical data with circumstantial evidence left behind by participants. Philip Percival, then known as the "dean of the white hunters," the first and longest serving president of the East African Professional Hunters' Association, wrote of the period between 1918 and 1939: "After the war, a more or less continuous stream of Americans became a mighty flood in the safari world, and prices began to rise and the salaries of White Hunters reached a figure of £200 or £250 a month, or even more."[589] Many others made similar statements. What accounts for this "continuous stream" of visitors at a time when the sale of hunting licenses had fallen to their lowest levels since 1903? And how, for that matter, did salaries rise so high in the midst of the safari industry's ostensible slump?

This chapter, combined with those to follow, examines this discrepancy between the robust growth of the safari industry during the interwar years as attested by participants, and, on the other hand, the remarkably small number of visitors who took out hunting licenses in Kenya during the 1920s and 1930s. The answers to this apparent paradox are connected to three interrelated developments. The first was the rise of Tanganyika as an alternative destination for hunters, combined with the ability of motorized safaris to reach the Serengeti

[589] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Reprint: Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 37.

from Nairobi in as little as one day. Although Tanganyika deprived Kenya of a certain number of hunters, its visitor traffic came largely via Mombasa and Nairobi and continued to patronize Kenya's safari outfitting companies, boosting their fortunes in the interwar years. The second development involved the rapid expansion of the varieties of safari experience offered to different classes of visitors, many of which excluded hunting altogether. The most important of these new developments was the photographic safari, as will be seen later in this chapter. Finally, the third development that expanded the business of the safari industry, the subject of Chapter 8, involved expeditions organized for wealthy and distinguished visitors and filmmaking expeditions. Although such ventures took out relatively few (if any) hunting licenses, they stayed in the field for many months and spent huge sums on labor and supplies, providing safari companies with steady work and a significant source of profit.

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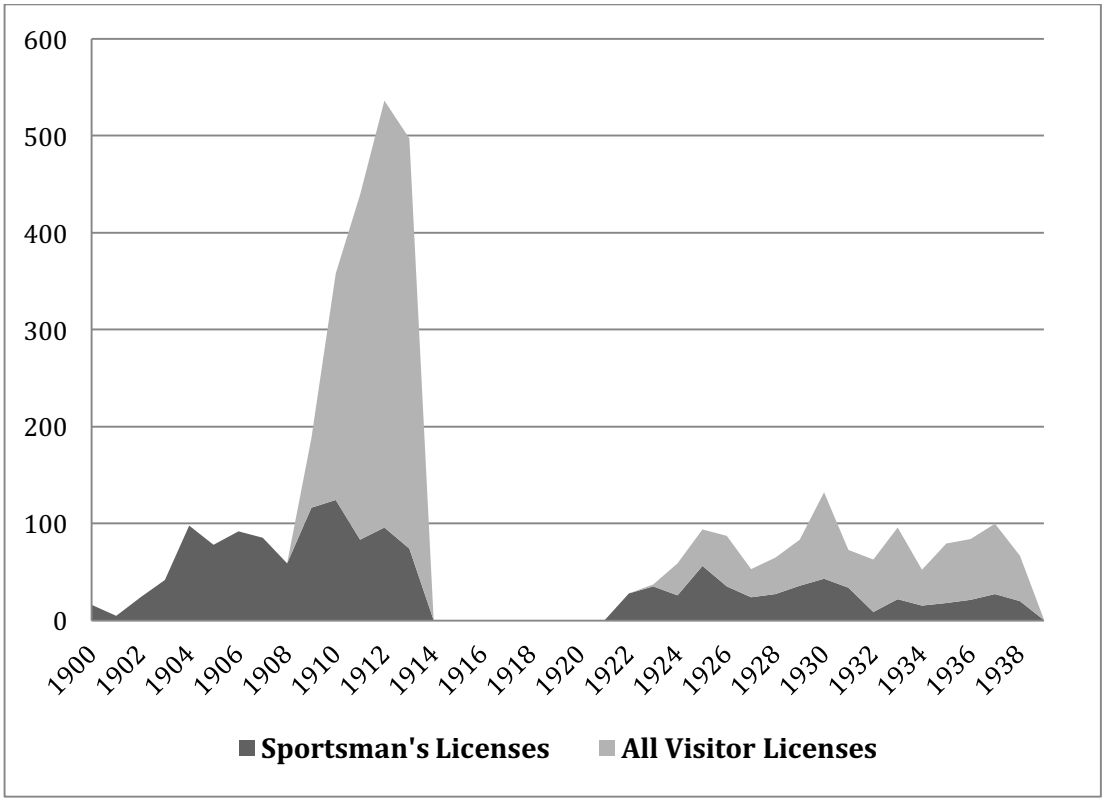

Figure 4: Hunting Licenses Issued to Visitors in Kenya, 1900-1939.

The overriding fact of the safari industry during the interwar years is that hunting by visitors failed to bounce back to its former levels. Kenya's Game Department sold significantly fewer licenses to all categories of visitors, but the most noteworthy decline involved the Sportsman's license. Despite its comparatively small numbers, this category had always represented the core of the safari clientele, consisting of the wealthiest clients who generally hired outfitters and spent long months in the field on a luxury safari. As we saw in Chapter 4, no fewer than 98 Sportsman's licenses had been sold as early as 1904-05 before reaching a pre-war peak of 124 in 1910-11. Between 1904 and 1914, only one year fell below 70 licenses while five years exceeded 90. When Traveller's licenses are counted, the total number of

licenses sold to visitors between 1909 and the end of 1913 amounted to 188, 358, 439, 536, and 497.

After the First World War, by contrast, the sale of Visitor's Full (Sportsman's) licenses never rose above 56 and spent much of the 1930s in the teens or twenties, even falling to single digits in 1932. Licenses sold to other categories of visiting hunters were similarly low in the interwar years, although some discrepancy may derive from Game Department practices before 1914, which sold the Traveller's License to soldiers on leave and some non-tourists and thereby inflated the prewar figures.[590] This data, derived from the *Game Department Annual Reports* for the Kenya Colony and Protectorate, as displayed in the table below.

[590] After the war, soldiers on leave, most from India, gained their own categories of hunting licenses, although the nature of their visits to Kenya made them a kind of tourist themselves.

Year	Sportsman's/Visitor's Full	Visitor's Private Land	Visitor's 14-Day	Governor's Permits	Total
1919-20	--	--	--	--	**Unavailable**
1920-21	--	--	--	--	**Unavailable**
1921-22	--	--	--	--	**Unavailable**
1922	28	--	--	--	**28**
1923	35	2	--	--	**37**
1924	26	33	--	--	**59**
1925	56	38	--	--	**94**
1926	35	43	--	9	**87**
1927	24	25	--	4	**53**
1928	27	29	--	9	**65**
1929	36	20	--	27	**83**
1930	43	11	--	78	**132**
1931	34	11	--	28	**73**
1932	9	25	--	29	**63**
1933	22	15	--	59	**96**
1934	15	4	12	21	**52**
1935	18	6	18	37	**79**
1936	21	5	20	38	**84**
1937	27	7	24	42	**100**
1938	20	--	27	--	**47**
1939	--	--	--	--	

Table 7: Game Licenses Issued Annually to Visiting Hunters in Kenya.[591]

License categories continued to evolve to suit the changing nature of the hunting industry in the 1920s and 1930s. In the Game Ordinance of 1921, the Kenya Legislative Council updated the Colony's hunting licenses.[592] The names of categories became more descriptive. The Visitor's Full replaced the antiquated designation "Sportsman's License," while the price rose from £50 to £100, a considerable sum worth roughly half the value of a Ford Model T. The Visitor's Private Land license, meanwhile, replaced the old Traveller's

[591] "Game Department Annual Reports [Kenya]," 1925-1937, 1950. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983). The "Visitor's Private Land" license corresponded closely with the Traveller's License on similar terms, but it sold at a higher cost (£10 instead of £1). The Traveller's License was finally retired in 1923 and refashioned as the "Visitor's Private Land" licenses, which is the market for it had originally been created.
[592] KNA: KW/27/4.

license in 1923 with a more accurate name, but largely maintained the same terms, allowing visitors to shoot any game on private land with the consent of the owner for a cost of £10 (formerly £1). This license was important, explained H.E. Fletcher Frost, an Honorary Game Warden, echoing the justifications given for the Traveller's license before the war, because "many visitors cannot afford a big safari yet would pay to rent the shooting on a well-stocked farm." Offering an affordable license on these terms would "directly benefit the settler who has kept his game and will give him a financial inducement to preserve."[593] Special licenses were required for animals with smaller populations, or whose tusks and horns held value, such as elephant, rhino, and giraffe, and sold on the same terms to both residents and visitors. In 1934, finally, the Game Department introduced the 14-Day Visitor's license in recognition of the growing number of tourists who desired to take a quick hunting safari by motorcar for a lower cost than the £100 Visitor's Full.

* * *

The relatively small number of hunters visiting Kenya in the interwar years is offset to some extent by the emergence of an alternative hunting destination in Tanganyika, which had been largely (though not completely) closed to visitor traffic during its time as a German colony before the First World War. With the end of the war and Tanganyika's shift in status to a mandated territory administered by Britain on behalf of the League of Nations, a vast new game land, adjacent and complementary to Kenya, became open to the tourist hunter. Safari companies based in Nairobi and Kenya's "white highlands" took advantage of their proximity to the Serengeti by taking many safaris across the border for both hunting and photography. Thus, as the Kenya Game Warden explained in 1926, one of the main reasons for the decline of license sales was "the increasing popularity of Tanganyika as a hunting ground, consequent

[593] H.E. Fletcher Frost (Hon. Game Warden), "Kenya's Game," 5 November 1923. Reprinted in the *East African Standard, Mombasa Times,* and *Uganda Argus* on 11 February 1924.

on the improved facilities for shooting parties which a better knowledge of the terrain by white hunters and others made possible."[594]

While clients had to pay the costs of a trip further afield, the licenses in Tanganyika cost somewhat less than the equivalent in Kenya. Through the 1930s the rates stood at £75 for the Visitor's Full License and £10 for the Visitor's Temporary (14-day). Additional licenses were required for professional hunters at the rates of £16 for a resident of Tanganyika and £40 for a non-resident.[595] Special licenses for elephant cost £20 for the first and £30 for the second, having risen considerably from the rate of about £22 for three elephants between 1923-26.[596] Until 1931, the corresponding costs in Kenya were £50 for the first elephant and £100 for the second, though the rates were reduced to half their previous levels in 1931 owing to the reduced value of ivory and the hardships of the Depression.[597] Giraffe and rhinoceros also required special licenses in Tanganyika at a rate of £7 each.[598] Virtually all of Tanganyika's license fees were lower than the corresponding rates in Kenya. As for the discrepancy in cost between the territories, it is not so much that Tanganyika set rates low to attract extra visitors as that Kenya set them especially high out of expectation that wealthy visitor traffic would bear the cost. Of course, as the Outspan Hotel commented in its safari pamphlet in 1930: "Except in the case of a very small safari, the lower cost of licenses in Uganda and Tanganyika is offset to a considerable extent by the additional cost of going further afield."[599]

Even so, a fairly significant number of visiting hunters found the trip to Tanganyika worthwhile, in some years approximating the total number of licenses sold in Kenya. Licenses

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[594] "Game Department Annual Report, 1926 [Kenya]" (A.T.A. Ritchie).
[595] *Annual Report, 1932,* Tanganyika Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1933), p. 5.
[596] *Annual Report, 1933,* Tanganyika Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1934), p. 3.
[597] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1931" (A.T.A. Ritchie).
[598] *Annual Report, 1932,* Tanganyika Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1933), p. 5.
[599] *Big Game and Holidays in East Africa* (Nyeri, Kenya: Outspan Hotel, n.d. [circa 1930]), p. 4.

issued in Tanganyika under the category "Visitor's Full" exceeded the corresponding category in Kenya in 1932, 1933, and 1934.

	Visitor's Full	Visitor's Temporary (14-day)	Governor's Licenses for Scientific Purposes	Total
1930	34	44	--	**78**
1931	23	31	--	**54**
1932	24	35	--	**59**
1933	25	24	9	**58**
1934	19	26	3	**48**
1935	14	25	3	**42**
1936	17	23	1	**41**
1937	18	29	6	**53**
1938	11	24	4	**39**
1939	--	--	--	--

Table 8: Hunting Licenses Issued to Visitors in Tanganyika Territory.[600]

The hunting traffic in Kenya, in other words, did not decline between the wars as much as Kenya's reduced license sales suggest. Rather, much of the safari hunting clientele opted to cross the border into Tanganyika after outfitting their safaris in Nairobi, a point we shall examine in greater depth momentarily.

Moreover, the same attractions that drew hunters to Tanganyika also drew tourists who visited for photography and other purposes. In 1936, for example, the Tanganyika Game Department reported a large number of people coming to the territory to see its game, many of them "[taking] advantage of the facilities afforded them for short visits to the Serengeti area to observe and photograph game."[601] The year saw 245 visitors to the Territory who went on safari (probably a low estimate), according to the Game Warden, of which only 41 took out

[600] *Annual Report, 1933,* Tanganyika Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1934), p. 16; *Annual Report, 1938,* Tanganyika Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1939), p. 14.
[601] S.P. Teare, *Annual Report, 1936,* Tanganyika Territory Game Preservation Department (Dar Es Salaam, 1937), p. 6.

hunting licenses. The most popular areas were the Serengeti and the Ngorongoro Crater, both located in northern Tanganyika near the Kenya border. The Serengeti is a vast plain that adjoins Kenya's Maasai Mara. Although the plain is rich with wildlife in all seasons, especially lion, its special attraction lies in the annual migration of animals through the area, the largest such event in the world. The Ngorongoro Crater is an immense volcanic caldera near the Serengeti, a kind of natural enclosure that is especially rich in wildlife and somewhat better watered than the surrounding areas. To accommodate such non-hunting visitors, the Tanganyika government offered, for a moderate fee, a well-furnished rest camp overlooking the Ngorongoro Crater. The government added tourist facilities every year as it realized the advantages to be gained from developing and promoting its own tourism industry. Today both the Serengeti and the Ngorongoro Crater rank high among the leading tourist destinations in Africa.

BIG GAME PHOTOGRAPHY

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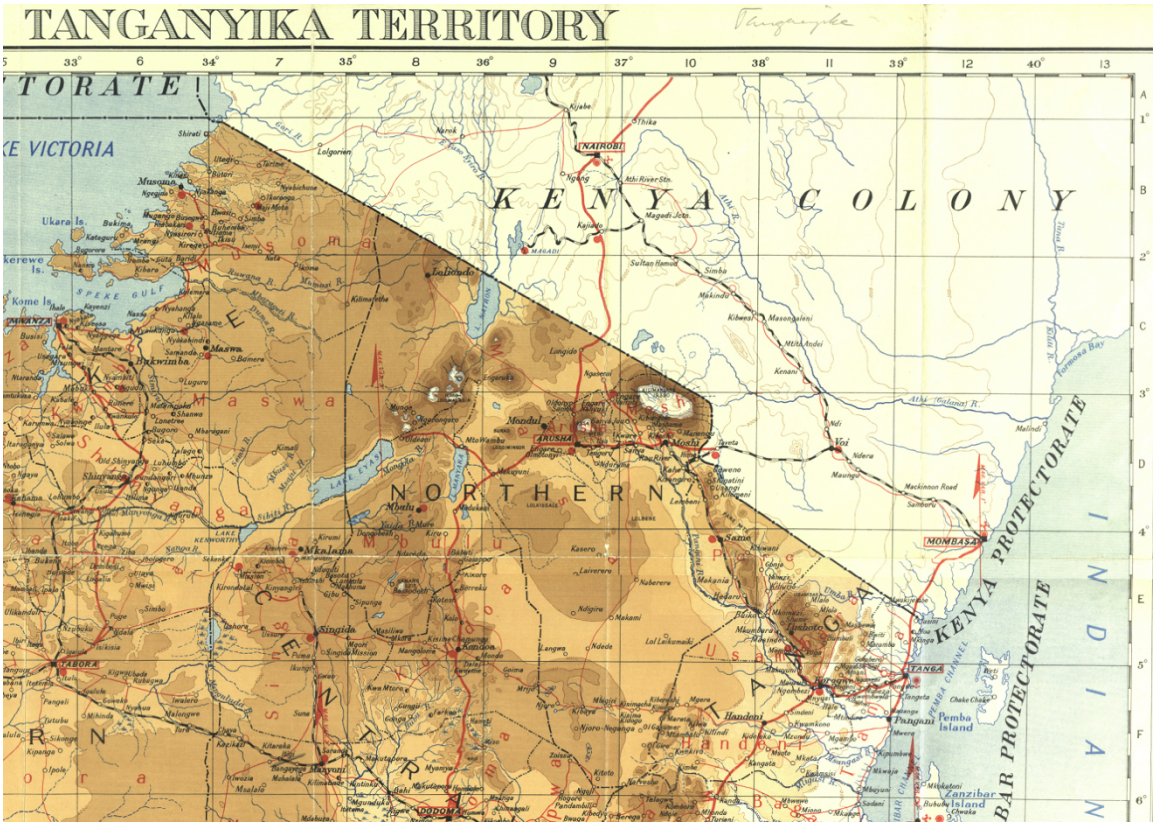
P.O. Box 88, ARUSHA, Tanganyika Territory. *Tels.* : "LIONS ARUSHA"

Illustration 25: Advertisement in *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa* (1936).[602]

[602] *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa* (Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services, 1936), p. 36.

It must not be supposed that Tanganyika's incipient success as a tourist destination diminished the fortunes of Kenya's safari tourism industry. On the contrary, for most of the 1920s and 1930s, Kenya functioned as the gateway to northern Tanganyika and continued to outfit the majority of Tanganyika's safari traffic. As late as 1936, when the Tanganyika Railways published the *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa,* hailing the region's attractions and promoting them over Kenya at every turn, the guidebook admitted Kenya's supremacy when it came to safari travel. "The majority of hunting parties to Tanganyika at present," the guidebook explained, "make their way to its northern hunting-grounds via Mombasa and Nairobi, a route suggested by the first glance at the map as being the most convenient."[603]

[603] *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa* (Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services, 1936), p. 81.


TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
KENYA COLONY
NORTHERN
KENYA PROTECTORATE
INDIAN
NAIROBI
ARUSHA
MOMBASA
TANGA
Pemba Island
Zanzibar Island
TABORA
MWANZA
Mkalama
Singida
Mbulu
Kondoa
Handeni
Pangani
Mkwinba
Maswa
Kasero
Sazon
Moshi
Voi
Mackinnon Road
Kijabe
Narok
Lolgorien
Lalatudo
Kilimatinda
Mondul
Mbulu
Kasero
Ngorongoro
Kondoa
Singida
Kwa Mtoro
Kiteto
Handeni
Pangani
Mkwinba
Maswa
Mwanza
Tabora
Speke Gulf
Lake Eyasi
Lake Kanywaritu
Pemba Channel
Tsavo R.
Athi (Galana) R.
Malindi
Tsavo R.
Sultan Hamud
Simba
Makindu
Kibwezi
Masongaleni
Mtito Andei
Kenani
Ndi
Kilimatinda
Ngoronga
Langido
Olbalbal
Mto Wa Mbu
Mbulu
Kasero
Lairenero
Ndigire
Makami
Lol Lakumaki
Makania
Mkalama
Singida
Kinyeto

Tanga Railway, which began at the old German port of Tanga and stretched for 220 miles to Moshi, at the foot of Kilimanjaro. The second and favored route, slightly shorter and with better amenities along the way, was the Uganda Railway through Kenya via Mombasa and Nairobi. Tourists could (and did) outfit their safaris in Nairobi and simply drive by car to the Serengeti (a trip of one or two days), but even tourists wishing to travel by rail the whole way found the route through Kenya the best and easiest way to northern Tanganyika. This route was made possible by the Voi-Kahe link, which had been constructed during the war to connect the Uganda Railway with the Tanga line at Moshi and thereby to facilitate the movement of troops and provisions across the border. Tourists coming by this route enjoyed superior facilities at Mombasa, which had an excellent natural harbor with two wharves, making the port able to handle greater numbers of seaborne arrivals. By 1923 Mombasa was in the process of constructing two additional deep-water berths at a cost of about £1,250,000.[605] It was an added benefit that the train journey through Kenya passed through the famous wildlife reserve on the Athi Plains, and that tourists were welcomed in Nairobi by equally famous and definitely superior hotels than those offered in Tanganyika. Consequently, for safaris in northern Tanganyika, the route through Kenya was superior not only for those who wished to begin their safaris by automobile in Nairobi, but also for those who preferred to ride a train as near as possible to the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater, Tanganyika's most popular wildlife attractions.[606]

Kenya enjoyed other advantages as the starting place for Tanganyika safaris beyond the existence of superior infrastructure and geographical proximity. "A further cause for

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[605] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 439.

[606] Routes through both Kenya and Tanganyika benefited from the same extension from Moshi to Arusha completed in 1927-29, which carried tourists 55 miles closer to the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater. *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa* (Tanganyika Railways and Ports Services, 1936), p. 35.

discriminating in favour of Nairobi as the starting-point for safaris in Tanganyika," the *Travel Guide to Tanganyika and Central Africa,* continued, "has been the absence in the past of any firm in Dar es Salaam contracting to supply shooting parties with all their requirements."[607] Such dedicated safari outfitting had been available in Nairobi since 1905, and numerous new firms and hotels in Kenya joined the safari industry in the 1920s and 1930s, as we shall see in the next chapter. Tanganyika's former lack of amenities was being rectified and the territory was catching up with Kenya, but only gradually. The Territory's rail and road facilities had greatly improved, and a new firm, Messrs. Stewart's Stores in Dar es Salaam, began equipping shooting expeditions and arranging "every detail of the tour from the booking of passages in London to the engagement of professional hunters, native servants, the provision of game and arms licenses, etc." Ever more locals in Tanganyika were joining the safari trade as professional hunters and guides, even if they did not yet provide the full range of safari services. And yet, in spite of this, there still existed in 1936, by the *Travel Guide's* own admission, a "prevalent impression that Nairobi is the inevitable starting point for the shooting grounds of the territory."[608]

Thus, Nairobi's continued status as the capital of East Africa's safari trade helps to explain why Tanganyika's rise as an alternative destination in the interwar years did not, in the immediate term, adversely affect Kenya's safari industry even though it contributed to the reduced sales of hunting licenses in Kenya. Kenya enjoyed superior infrastructure – roads, rails, and harbors – and offered the shortest route to Tanganyika's most popular tourist destinations. Owing to the comparatively large population of white settlers in Kenya, it possessed more hotels, clubs, golf courses, racetracks, and other amenities kept up to "Western standards," all potential attractions for visitors. Kenya's longstanding and increasingly famous

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[607] Ibid, p. 81.
[608] Ibid, p. 81.

safari industry was still the best developed in Africa and provided an unmatched range of services for the visitor. And those who worked in Kenya's safari industry as professionals, from white hunters and trackers to cooks and personal servants, had for years built up the experience, the skills, and above all the clientele upon which many of Kenya's advantages were based.

* * *

Even with the addition of new hunting grounds in Tanganyika (and other countries as well), there were powerful natural limits on the number of hunters the land could accommodate. The most coveted species, the animals that made East Africa uniquely attractive to the tourist, had relatively small populations and slow gestation periods, and were frequently killed for the value of their skins, horns, and tusks in addition to the motivation of sport. The safari trade could not be expanded indefinitely if it meant a greater off-take of species like rhino, elephant, giraffe, lion, and leopard. This presented an apparent conundrum. The East African safari had become the basis of a valuable industry that depended, like all industries, upon steady growth and expansion. Tourist safaris provided an irreplaceable source of income for many professionals in this business, while others clamored to join their ranks, especially under the trying conditions of the Depression. Even the government, as we have seen, saw the safari trade as an important sector of economic activity and a valuable source of revenue. Yet the wildlife populations in East Africa were a finite resource beginning to show signs of strain. How could the safari industry achieve the growth that its leadership wanted without diminishing the wildlife populations upon which continued success relied?

Into this paradoxical situation arrived a new version of safari tourism that preserved many of the greatest allures of the traditional safari but which dispensed with the imperative to kill: the photographic safari. Armed with the camera, the tourist could still enjoy the same pleasures of traveling through wild places, camping in the bush, tracking and stalking game,

and "shooting" quarry with a shutter instead of with a trigger. In place of trophies to be skinned, cured, and mounted on a wall, the photographic tourist could collect trophies in the form of permanent images, leaving wild animals to enjoy another day and give the same pleasure to others. The advent of the photographic safari furnished a seemingly limitless source of business that could expand for years without adversely affecting the region's wildlife populations. It is argued here that the photographic safari emerged in East Africa much earlier than usually appreciated, and that, because of its success in the first half of the century, Kenya's safari industry acquired a degree of expertise in this new endeavor that left it well placed to benefit in the age of mass tourism to come.

The discussion that follows places the photographic safari in a longer historical perspective by tracing its origins in East Africa to the beginning of the century, and showing how the early pioneers influenced the form that wildlife photography took in the interwar years and beyond. The rapidly growing popularity of wildlife photography after the First World War owed partly to the state of the technology that made it possible – not only the camera itself and its practical utility in the field, but also the automobile, which enabled tourists to approach animals close enough to take photographs without incurring unnecessary danger. Beyond the technology itself, however, the pioneers of the photographic safari laid the groundwork for its popularity as a tourist pastime in several important respects. First, they introduced wildlife photography to the public in a number of books and articles that inspired others to follow. Second, some of the pioneers of wildlife photography, through their inventions and novel methods, contributed to the technical expertise that helped make the endeavor possible for ordinary tourists.

Third, the pioneers laid out justifications for wildlife photography in a way that appealed to multiple groups of people – "manly" tourists in search of a sporting challenge, "enlightened" conservationists who desired to avoid bloodshed, and scientifically-minded

photographers who sought to collect animal photographs as permanent records of natural history. Finally, early photographic expeditions gave Kenya's safari industry valuable experience meeting the unique demands of wildlife photographers, from the methods employed, to the requirements of handling intricate camera equipment, to the techniques of processing and storing photographic slides and film. Consequently, by the time camera technology advanced to a stage that made wildlife photography feasible among ordinary tourists in the 1920s, Kenya's safari industry had already learned the most important tricks of the trade.

The sport of wildlife photography began to emerge in East Africa almost as soon as the region came under British rule in the 1890s and early 1900s. The state of camera technology limited the new sport's appeal in those early days, but a number of professional photographers and devoted enthusiasts took to the field and began to lay the foundations of a pastime that would one day reign supreme. As early as 1902, Edward North Buxton, a distinguished hunter and conservationist who played a seminal role in saving London's Epping Forest, made extensive use of the camera, "[devoting himself] whole-heartedly to the absorbing pursuit of camera-stalking" during the latter parts of his safari.[609] Several years later, in 1905, Carl George Schillings, a German, devoted a whole book to the subject of camera hunting in *Flashlights in the Jungle*.[610] In 1909, W.D. Boyce's American Balloonograph Expedition set out to capture photographs of wild animals from a balloon. In 1910 the growing sport of wildlife photography in East Africa reached its pre-1914 apex in a book by the skillful

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[609] Edward North Buxton, *Two African Trips: With Notes and Suggestions on Big Game Preservation in Africa* (London: Edward Stanford, 1902), p. 106.

[610] C.G. (Carl George) Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* [or, *With Flashlight and Rifle*]*: A Record of Hunting Adventures and of Studies in Wild Life in Equatorial East Africa,* Translated by Frederic Whyte, with Introduction by H.H. Johnston (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1905). N.B.: This book appeared under several different titles produced by different publishers. The translation by Frederic Whyte is the best and most useful of the English translations, offered in the single-volume edition released in 1905 by Doubleday, Page, and Company, under the title cited here.

photographer Radclyffe Dugmore, entitled *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds*.[611] Several years later Carl Akeley invented a handheld motion-picture camera – the first of its kind – expressly to capture images of animals in their natural habitats, a reinforcement, in his view, of the scientific work he undertook as a taxidermist and natural historian.

[611] Dugmore's expedition was sponsored by *Collier's* magazine after Roosevelt rebuked its offer to pay him twice as much as *Scribner's*. Instead they sent Dugmore ahead of the Roosevelt expedition to send back pictures of Africa's wildlife, published during 1909 as "Snapping Africa's Big Game, The Camera that Beat Roosevelt to the Jungle." It was later published in book form as A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds: Being An Account of a Four Months' Expedition in British East Africa, for the Purpose of Securing Photographs of the Game from Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910).

RHINOCEROS PHOTOGRAPHED AT A DISTANCE OF FIFTEEN YARDS WHEN ACTUALLY CHARGING THE AUTHOR AND HIS COMPANION. AS SOON AS THE EXPOSURE WAS MADE A WELL-PLACED SHOT TURNED THE CHARGING BEAST

Illustration 26: Radclyffe Dugmore's photograph of a charging rhino, 1910, one of the most famous ever taken.[612]

[612] Source: A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910).

Occasionally the work of early wildlife photographers received wide press. In 1909, Theodore Roosevelt's safari had included numerous photographers, including his son, Kermit, who contributed many fine animal photographs to the writings published by his father. The Roosevelt expedition also included Cherry Kearton, a professional photographer and filmmaker, whose resulting motion-picture films were released in 1910 as "Theodore Roosevelt in Africa."[613] Kearton had gained distinction as a wildlife photographer in the 1890s, publishing numerous books with his brother, Richard Kearton, and working in North America and Europe as well as Africa.[614] Cherry Kearton made a total of three trips to East Africa before the First World War, the last in 1913 with James Barnes, who sought to obtain realistic photographs and films of animals in their natural habitats that could function as an equivalent to the museum displays at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.[615] Kearton moved increasingly into motion-picture films instead of photographs, but his work ranked among the best available before the war.[616] Finally, there were a few early tourists, including Theodore and Kermit Roosevelt, who saw photography as an adjunct to hunting. Edward Bennet, an Indian civil servant and noted hunter, likewise combined hunting and photography, publishing his account in 1914 under the title *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa*.[617] Barton Hepburn and his companions, all wealthy Americans, went on safari in 1913 "supplied with photographic apparatus, and succeeded fairly well with our pictures."[618]

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613 Alternately published under the titles "TR in Africa" and "Roosevelt in Africa." Publisher unknown. The film can be viewed in digital form at http://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/1790704.

614 Early titles included: Cherry Kearton, *With Nature and a Camera: Being the Adventures and Observations of a Field Naturalist and An Animal Photographer* (London: Cassell, 1897); and, by Richard Kearton, *Wild Life at Home: How to Study and Photograph It* (London: Cassell, 1899).

615 James Barnes, *Through Central Africa: From Coast to Coast,* Illustrated by Photographs by Cherry Kearton (New York: D. Appleton, 1915).

616 In addition to the titles already cited, see also Cherry Kearton's memoir: *Cherry Kearton's Travels* (London: Robert Hale, 1941).

617 Edward Bennet, *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green, 1914).

618 A. Barton Hepburn, *The Story of an Outing* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1913), p. 102.

These are only several of the most prominent examples of individuals who sought, in the early part of the twentieth century, to develop the sport of the photographic safari and publicize it to the wider public through books and articles about their activities. The fact that virtually all of these individuals employed professional hunters (most under the auspices of Newland and Tarlton) confirms that wildlife photography was not only known among the safari industry, but also catered to by professional guides who profited handsomely from the new sport. Thus, by the turn of the century, many professional photographers and amateur enthusiasts had begun using the camera as a substitute for the rifle as much as contemporary technology would allow. As a result of their pioneering efforts, the photographic safari would be set to flourish during the interwar years as well as after 1945.

* * *

The development of camera technology played an important role in the growing popularity of wildlife photography, which influenced the timing of its adoption by ordinary tourists. This point is often overlooked in contemporary writings, but is important for the historian to understand given the camera's sudden and very noteworthy advance in popularity during the 1920s and 1930s. In general, it can be said that wildlife photography remained the domain of experts and skilled amateur enthusiasts until the First World War, too difficult for most tourists to undertake except on a very limited scale. By the 1920s, a number of compact, easy to use, excellent cameras were available to the tourist, as camera makers surmounted the technical obstacles that formerly limited the camera's appeal. This development of camera technology, combined with the pioneering work of early practitioners, helped set the stage for the growing popularity of wildlife photography.

It is sometimes forgotten how far camera technology had progressed by 1900. The first noteworthy advances in photography came as early as the eighteenth century, when it was realized that permanent images could be created by the action of light upon imprints treated

with chemicals.[619] By 1827 the oldest known plate had been produced by Joseph Nicéphore Niépce, now held in the Gernsheim Collection of the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas.[620] A decade later M. Daguerre, another Frenchman, introduced the famous daguerreotype photographic technique that was used throughout the world for much of the nineteenth century. As it turned out, Daguerreotypes were unfit for wildlife photography by the long thirty-second exposure, as well as by the expense, fragility, and difficulty of duplicating images. Yet its success in other arenas opened horizons and gave people a glimpse of the innovations to come. New photographic techniques appeared almost constantly throughout the nineteenth century with varying degrees of quality and potential, each one attempting to solve old problems through the use of improved techniques.

Photography achieved much recognition and a certain degree of standard-practice by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Journals and societies were founded in devotion to photography. Family photo albums became a fixture in middle and upper class Victorian homes on both sides of the Atlantic. Those with energy as well as technical skills earned fame by taking tens of thousands of vivid and well-known photographs of the American Civil War, westward expansion, exotic locales, colonial outposts, and the industrial life that revolutionized the Western world.[621] In this context, it did not take a great leap of imagination to envision the potential of the camera for the new breed of global tourists and travelers, whose peregrinations were facilitated by concomitant developments in steam-powered mass transit. The poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire wrote of the photographic exhibition in the Palace of the Champs

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[619] Significantly, the *Encyclopedie* of Diderot and d'Alembert, published between 1751 and 1765 at the height of the Enlightenment, included in its article on optics an image of the *camera obscura*, an early tool for reproducing realistic images. See Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present,* Revised Edition (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), p. 13.

[620] Letters and other evidence suggest that Niepce had performed the experiment successfully as early as 1816. See Ibid, p. 13.

[621] For a recent study on this theme, see Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

Élysées in 1859: "Let [photography] hasten to enrich the tourist's album and restore to his eye the precision which his memory may lack; let it adorn the naturalist's library, and enlarge microscopic animals."[622]

Nature photography became an important part of this movement long before it was carried to the game-lands of East Africa, drawing upon older traditions of painting and image-capturing, combined with a new interest in natural history and a concern to achieve scientifically authentic pictures of animals in their natural habitats. Americans ranked high among nature photographers in the later nineteenth century. Many photographers who got their start taking pictures of the American Civil War later traveled west with government and railway expeditions sent to explore the western territories and construct railroads across the continent. Spectacular scenery became a popular subject, particularly of mountains and vistas. Talented photographers used the best equipment available to capture stunning, never-before-seen photographs of the desert southwest, the Rocky Mountains, and the diverse lands crossed by the transcontinental railroads.[623]

It is worth noting that the earliest attempts at wildlife photography in Africa, though unsuccessful, occurred around this time. In the 1860s, James Chapman, an explorer and elephant hunter, undertook an expedition in South Africa to obtain photographs of big game animals.[624] He faced numerous difficulties, however, and never managed to obtain good exposures of live animals. Another explorer, Professor G. Fritsch, took a camera to South Africa in 1863 but met with the same results. By this time others had begun to take photographs of live animals in zoos, including the famous picture of the last quagga, held at the London

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[622] Quoted in Ibid, p. 83.
[623] Ibid, pp. 85-105.
[624] James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa: Comprising Fifteen Years' Hunting and Trading,* Vol. 2 (London: Bell & Daldy, 1868).

Zoo, in the early 1870s.[625] A few individuals successfully photographed live animals, but they were mainly non-dangerous species in readily accessible parts of Europe and North America.[626] Birds became a popular subject and in fact gave Richard and Cherry Kearton their start in the 1890s, a success they later extended to other small mammals, reptiles, butterflies, and moths.[627] The Zoological Photographic Club was founded in London in 1899, and by the following year there were 256 photographic clubs and approximately four million camera owners in Britain.[628] By far the greatest early advance in the sport of camera hunting, however, belonged to an American, A.G. Wallihan, who undertook several expeditions in the late 1880s and 1890s to photograph big game, particularly in Wyoming and Colorado. By the mid 1890s, he had perfected his techniques and improved his equipment. When he released his first book of pictures in 1901, a much-impressed Theodore Roosevelt wrote the introduction and Wallihan's photographs met wide acclaim, serving as direct inspiration for Schillings, Dugmore, and others.[629]

As camera technology advanced, the concept and techniques of the photographic expedition spread quickly. The Himalayas, the Alps, the pre-Columbian ruins of the Yucatan, ancient Greece, the Far East, practically all of Europe, and everywhere in between were captured by the photographer's lens and disseminated to eager consumers of photographic prints. Expeditions in those days were costly and involved the use of wagons or stock animals, but for those with tenacity, organizational skills, and a touch of adventure the payoff was big. In some places, such as the Egyptian pyramids, it became common for professionals to secure

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625 C.A.W. Guggisberg, *Early Wildlife Photographers,* Foreword by Eric Hosking (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1977), p. 14.
626 Ibid, pp. 12-18.
627 *British Birds' Nests* (1895); *Nature and the Camera* (1897); *Our Rarer British Breeding Birds* (1899); and *Our Bird Friends* (1900); *Wild Nature's Ways* (1903); *Keartons' Nature Pictures* (1910).
628 C.A.W. Guggisberg, *Early Wildlife Photographers* (New York: Taplinger Publishing, 1977), p. 28.
629 A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game,* With an Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901).

photographs of popular sites and then to sell prints, at great profit, to visiting tourists who lacked the time or technical expertise to attain the same standard of photographic quality in their own pictures. One photographer, William Henry Jackson, took hundreds of photographs of Yellowstone's spectacular geysers, hot springs, and grand geological features in 1871 — photographs that helped convince the United States Congress to establish Yellowstone as a national park, a lasting monument of nature preservation that would be upheld as a model for East Africa's own national park system several generations later.[630]

The chief obstacle was technological. Wildlife photography in a demanding place like Africa demanded a portable camera, a telephoto lens able to capture images of distant animals, a fast focusing lens, and a short exposure times to secure "instantaneous" photographs of moving objects — all requirements of what would now be called the "action shot." It was a tall order for a technology in its early stages of development. In reality, however, the kind of advancements needed for wildlife photography had already occurred but had not yet been perfected or made commercially viable. In 1869, an English photographer living in California named E.J. Muybridge, famous for his sequential action shots, had invented one of the first camera shutters, a key step toward making instantaneous photographs possible. The shutter used a mechanism that brought precision (less than the two-thousandth part of a second, Muybridge claimed) to the process of allowing light to expose the image.[631]

In 1878 Muybridge tested the process in an ingenious experiment that garnered international attention: a series of instantaneous photographs depicting a horse at each phase of the gallop.[632] Today the frozen image of a galloping horse is well known and causes no

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[630] Aylesa Forsee, *William Henry Jackson: Pioneer Photographer of the West* (New York: Viking Press, 1964).
[631] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present,* Revised Edition (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), p. 119.
[632] On Muybridge and his contributions to photography, see Rebecca Solnit, *River of Shadows: Eadweard Muybridge and the Technological Wild West* (New York: Penguin, 2003).

surprise. But at the time the photographs looked absurd — an error at best, a fake at worst. Because the motion of a galloping horse is too fast to be seen and understood with the naked eye, the nature of its movement seemed inconceivable when photographs revealed its true form. As everyone expected, the images showed all four legs of the horse airborne at the same time. To everyone's surprise, this moment occurred at the phase of the gallop when the legs were curled under the horse's belly — not when outstretched forward and backward, as painters and artists had always depicted them. Only by viewing Muybridge's images one after another in rapid succession could the illusion of a horse's gallop in motion be re-created to vindicate the accuracy of his photographs. It was a revelation, not least for the art world that relied on his visual dictionary showing human and animal forms in motion.[633]

More importantly for the safari industry, Muybridge's innovation led to further advancements in instantaneous photography. In the mid 1880s he designed shutters to be controlled by clockwork at any interval desired. In 1884 he took photographs of storks in flight that astounded the photographic world. Such action shots demonstrated that technology had advanced far enough for wildlife photography to be feasible. The process simply needed to be made marketable. Technical advances in different branches of photography began to converge. Only a few years earlier, in 1879, a new process had been invented for producing gelatin plates that far surpassed anything then available for producing photographic prints. Edward Wilson, editor of *The Philadelphia Photographic Association,* boasted of the advantages of gelatin emulsion when he told the National Photographic Association that his photographs of the Middle East in 1882 had been made on gelatin plates prepared in Philadelphia, "exposed on the journey, carried for twenty-two thousand miles on steamer, on donkey-back, on camel-back, and across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, through the hills of Arabia, in Egypt and

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633 Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present,* Revised Edition (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), pp. 117-122.

other hot countries of the East, and developed eight months afterwards, again in Philadelphia, and the results you see!"[634] Most photographers found gelatin to be far less impervious than Wilson suggested, but the innovation was real enough. It brought about a standardization of materials and became a key breakthrough in the science of photography.

Improvements in lenses and shutters led to steady reductions in the size of cameras. Dozens of mass produced "hand cameras" entered the market at the end of the nineteenth century, sporting unique and catchy names: Brownie, Buckeye, Escopette (pistol), Hit-or-Missit, Instantograph, Kinegraph, Kombi, Omnigraphe, Photosphere, Photake, Poco, Takiv, and many others. The best remembered and most successful of the early hand cameras was the Kodak, invented and manufactured in Rochester, New York by George Eastman, who became an important purveyor of the photographic safari. The original Kodak, introduced in 1888, was a small box camera with a fixed focus and a 27mm focal length, an aperture of f/9, and a cylindrical shutter. The Kodak was distinguished from the competition by Eastman's provision of an all-inclusive package of services for making personal photographs, all the way through processing and printing. Eastman's cameras were sold for $25, and came pre-loaded with a roll of film that allowed multiple negatives to be exposed. All the user had to do was point the camera at a subject, release the shutter with the press of a button, wind the roll to the next exposure, and re-cock the shutter's clockwork mechanism. Once the roll was finished, the user sent it to Eastman's Kodak company and awaited the processing of the film.[635] The Kodak quite naturally led to a revolution in the way cameras were used by the public. Photography was no longer the exclusive domain of experts and professionals, but a means for ordinary people to record scenes from everyday life. Eastman described his camera as a "photographic

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[634] Quoted in Ibid, p. 124.

[635] The invention and commercial release of the original Kodak is described in Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 63-72.

notebook." A wide selection of larger and more expensive camera options were available from numerous companies for the professional or expert photographer who desired to use improved lenses, high-speed shutters, and mounted viewfinders. The most popular during the first two decades of the twentieth century were the American Graflex (introduced in 1903) and the British Soho Reflex (introduced in 1906).[636]

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By the first decade of the twentieth century, those interested in a photographic safari had at their disposal workable camera technology and a rapidly advancing photography industry. Even Mombasa and Nairobi had gained their own commercial proprietors dedicated to photography. Their main business, of course, consisted of taking portraits and photographs of local scenes for advertising, publicity, and newspaper articles, but their existence in East African ensured that visitors could acquire camera equipment should the need arise. A sampling of the two leading papers in British East Africa in 1906, the year Newland and Tarlton took off, show that visitors would have been well aware of the local proprietors. D.V.F. Figueira of Mombasa claimed to be "the oldest established photographer in East Africa."[637] P. de Lord Brothers of Zanzibar ran a photographic studio and workshop that catered to the amateur and offered to send photographic equipment across the whole region.[638] W.D. Young of Nairobi catered to photography "in all its branches."[639] The very existence of photographic companies ensured not only that travelers and sportsmen could find a ready supply of equipment and materials on location, but also that use of photographic apparatus was common enough among government officials and settlers that ideas about photographing the wildlife

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[636] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), pp. 128-130.
[637] Advertisement in *The East African Standard,* 3 November 1906.
[638] Advertisement in *The East African Standard,* 3 November 1906.
[639] Advertisement in *The Times of East Africa,* 13 January 1906.

had already begun to take shape. Many settlers took numerous photographs at this time, some of which, those taken by the safari fraternity at any rate, have found their way into books about the country's pioneering years. So long as early photographers visiting East Africa could learn some technical skills and appreciate the limitations of their equipment, great opportunities awaited.

Early proponents of wildlife photography saw potential in the photographic safari and sought to promote it among the wider public in books and articles about their activities in East Africa. The first advantage that proponents emphasized is that wildlife photography was a challenging, masculine sport in its own right and not just a dialed-down version of hunting. "The art and practice of photographing wild animals in their native haunts has made great progress in recent years," Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed in 1901, eight years before his African safari. "It is itself a branch of sport, and hunting with the camera has many points of superiority when compared to hunting with the rifle."[640] All the chief attractions of hunting, he continued, "we get exactly as much in hunting with the camera as in hunting with the rifle; and of the two, the former is the kind of sport which calls for the higher degree of skill, patience, resolution, and knowledge of the life history of the animal sought."[641] Radclyffe Dugmore made a similar argument in 1910, declaring that the camera hunter "must be far more proficient in the difficult art of stalking than he who hunts with a rifle… Every animal that is near enough to be successfully photographed is near enough to be shot without the least difficulty, but every animal that can be shot cannot be photographed."[642]

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[640] Theodore Roosevelt, Introduction in A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), p. 5.
[641] Ibid, pp. 11-12.
[642] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), p. 226.

The argument by Roosevelt and others that wildlife photography was a sport in its own right with "many points of superiority" over hunting owes much to the image they wanted to project and the type of practitioners they wished to attract. Here was an appeal to the "manly" sportsmen ready for any challenge. Hunting was regarded as a deeply masculine endeavor that exhibited a man's virility, courage, hardihood, and skill, a Darwinian struggle that pitted him against nature in a great contest of wits and endurance. To make the same claims about photography, to depict it as an edifying venture that cultivated manly character, one had to emphasize that it required the same masculine virtues as hunting, perhaps even in greater measure. Gregg Mitman, a leading scholar of nature photography, has demonstrated that claims to masculinity made by Roosevelt and others were linked to ideas about the scientific "authenticity" of photographs.[643] Not only was it important to obtain accurate, realistic photographs that contributed useful knowledge of natural history. It was equally important how these images were obtained. The greater their authenticity (which meant photographs not staged or contrived), the greater the privation and struggle a photographer had to endure – which cultivated, in Roosevelt's words, the "vigorous manliness for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone."[644]

The appeal of the photographic safari extended beyond these sporting elements to the allure of time spent in wild places, which appealed greatly in the early part of the century when the "back-to-nature" movement was at its peak in the English-speaking world.[645] "The chief attractions," Roosevelt explained, "lie in the physical hardihood for which the life calls, the sense of limitless freedom which it brings, and the remoteness and wild charm and beauty of

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643 Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009), Chapter 1: "Hunting with the Camera."
644 Quoted in Ibid, p. 15.
645 Ibid, pp. 10-16.

primitive nature."[646] A strenuous life in the outdoors, according to Roosevelt and others of this mind, was the only effective antidote to the overly civilized, domestic, and effeminate life created by modern industrial civilization. The wildlife photographer could enjoy these advantages in the same way as the hunter. The photographic safari required the same endurance and privation to travel by caravan into the wilds and camp for many days in rustic conditions. It involved the same degree of planning and strategizing. It required the same skills of tracking, stalking, and bush-craft in the presence of dangerous animals. And it required enormous, unwavering patience punctuated by brief moments of tremendous excitement and activity. The only real difference between hunting and photography was that the new sport entailed shooting with a camera instead of with a rifle.

A third advantage touted by proponents of the photographic safari, and arguably its most important, was that it afforded the same attractions as the hunt while preventing the needless slaughter of wildlife. Photography became a means, in other words, of advancing the cause of wildlife conservation, so dear to many sportsmen, without abandoning the traditional pursuit of sport. Here was a ready-made solution to the conundrum of how the safari tourism industry could continue to expand without destroying the wild animals upon which it depended. If by practicing wildlife photography and publishing accounts of their success, early photographers could reduce the destruction visited upon the animals of Africa, they had made a step toward the goal. Indeed, some believed this was the whole point of the photographic safari. In the preface of Schillings's 1905 book, H.H. Johnston, an explorer and colonial administrator of known progressive views, went so far as to write, with condescension and moral outrage, that Buxton and Schillings were among the first "to stand up before a snobbish public and proclaim that the best sport for a man of cultivated mind is the snapshooting with

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[646] Theodore Roosevelt, Introduction in A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), p. 12.

the camera, rather than the pumping of lead into elephants, rhinoceroses, antelopes, zebras, and many other harmless, beautiful, or rare beasts and birds." Camera hunting would become the "sportsmanship of the future," Johnston believed, an alternative to the "ravages of European and American sportsmen, which are still one of the greatest blots on our twentieth century civilization."[647]

Professional guides and self-proclaimed sportsmen increasingly took up Johnston's line of argument during the interwar years and especially after 1945. Carl Akeley, who showed little compunction about killing, summed up this shift in attitudes when he wrote in 1920:

> Camera hunters appeal to me as being so much more useful than gun hunters. They have their pictures to show, and when their game is over the animals are still alive to play another day. Moreover, according to any true conception of sport – the use of skill, daring, and endurance overcoming difficulties – camera hunting takes twice the man that gun hunting takes. It is fortunate for the animals that camera hunting is becoming popular.[648]

The fourth justification touted by early proponents was that photographs of wild animals contributed useful scientific knowledge to the study of natural history. Each photograph became, in a sense, a substitute for the animal specimens mounted by taxidermists and sent to museums or labs. This struck a blow at the old argument, oft repeated by Roosevelt, that killing animals was justified if doing so contributed to the advancement of science and the education of the wider public. It became increasingly difficult for "penitent butchers" to rely upon the sanctification of killing in the name of science, as Theodore Roosevelt had when his expedition ended the lives of some 11,000 creatures and over 500 big-game animals. Taking photographs of wildlife instead of slaughtering it for museums offered an alternative to the hunt that still produced valuable scientific specimens without the need to kill.

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[647] See Johnston's introduction in C.G. Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), pp. xiii-xiv.
[648] Carl E. Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1920), p. 155.

In 1905, when Carl Schillings published his book on the photographic safari in East Africa, Dr. Ludwig Heck described wildlife photographs in the preface as *Natururkunden,* "certified records" of natural scenes of wildlife that held lasting scientific value.[649] Schillings himself proclaimed that the purpose of his book was primarily to counter the common idea that the destruction of African fauna was part of a fashionable man's education. Besides requiring greater skill and endurance, taking photographs of animals in the wild, he believed, offered truer samples of nature for study and education than mounted specimens of lifeless beasts in a museum. "Here is a wide field of artistic endeavor," he proclaimed, "and it would be a matter of great satisfaction if it were cultivated as soon as possible."[650] Theodore Roosevelt in 1901 had likewise regarded Wallihan's photographs as "records of a fascinating form of life which is passing away," and expressed hope (with more than a little hypocrisy) that "the camera will largely supplant the rifle."[651] Radclyffe Dugmore, too, wrote in 1910 that "photographic hunting, besides being one of the keenest sports, affords the greatest possible opportunity of studying the life of wild animals, and has the advantage in the fact that for the camera there is no close season, and all wild animals and birds are game for the photographic bag."[652] When he returned home with over three hundred photographs, he wrote with satisfaction that they would "prove trophies more interesting and more valuable to the real nature student than the finest collection of dry heads and horns ever taken out of the country."[653] Dugmore continued to advocate photography as a means of preserving natural history throughout his life, writing

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649 Heck, Preface to Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), p. ix.
650 Ibid, p. 25. It is noteworthy that Schillings saw the chief precedent for his activities as coming from the work of A.G. Wallihan, an American who undertook several wildlife photography expeditions in the American West around the turn of the century, mostly in Wyoming and Colorado. See A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901).
651 Theodore Roosevelt, Introduction to A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901), 12.
652 A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910), p. xviii.
653 Ibid, p. 194.

again in 1923 in a "Plea for Big Game" in *The Field,* perhaps the world's leading magazine for sportsmen, that "authentic" photographic records of wild animals "should be filed away with the greatest possible care, as permanent records of the living creatures."[654]

* * *

Despite this enthusiasm and these well-laid arguments about wildlife photography, the prevalence of the photographic safari was necessarily limited by the state of contemporary technology and the inclinations of the tourist. Before 1914, it was practiced only by a small minority of visitors and with wildly variable rates of success. Those who persevered and secured truly excellent photographs at this time tended to be either expert photographers or amateur enthusiasts with substantial time to devote to the new endeavor. Wildlife photography was unusual because it was difficult. Despite all the advances made in photographic technology, the camera was quite primitive until the 1920s. Early cameras were difficult to focus with precision, especially under field conditions in the face of dangerous animals. Exposures were slow and likely to yield bad images if wildlife moved at the wrong moment. Cameras required excellent light to obtain decent exposures. Even a cloudy sky produced disappointing results. Cherry Kearton discovered when he traveled to Uganda and the Congo in 1913 that it was impossible to secure decent photographs under the shaded canopy of the forest.[655]

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654 A. Radclyffe Dugmore, "Plea for Big Game," *The Field,* 5 July 1923.

655 James Barnes, *Through Central Africa: From Coast to Coast,* Illustrated by Photographs by Cherry Kearton (New York: D. Appleton, 1915).

THE REFLEX CAMERA EQUIPPED WITH TELEPHOTO LENS. ALL THE DAYLIGHT PICTURES OF ANIMALS WERE MADE WITH THIS OUTFIT, WHICH WEIGHED ABOUT SEVENTEEN POUNDS

Illustration 27: Radclyffe Dugmore poses with his bulky reflex camera in 1910.[656]

[656] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910).

Photographic equipment was also bulky and unreliable. Although hand-held cameras became available by the first decade of the century, including the famous Kodak, several experts agreed with Radclyffe Dugmore's opinion that "the ordinary little hand camera with its short focus lens is practically useless" for wildlife photography, since photographs could only be obtained within fifteen or twenty yards of the animal.[657] Instead, he claimed, "the sort of camera necessary for the work is one of the long-focus reflex type, equipped with convertible lens of high speed, and a telephoto lens of the greatest speed," mounted on a tripod rigid enough to prevent the telephoto lens from shaking — a setup that was large, slow, and difficult to transport.[658] Securing a good exposure of a moving creature, even at a walk, meant panning the camera in sync with its movement until the exposure was complete.

So great were the demands of the wildlife photographer that Dugmore thought a special outfit was required for animal photography, since there was "nothing on the market [circa 1910] that would serve the purpose" he had in mind.[659] Dugmore later had several cameras custom built, and designed a complete outfit for developing and printing in the field. He preferred a reflex camera with a 3-5x magnification and a fast exposure. He used an American make of "quick plates" that were double coated with orthochromatic, which he thought advisable for all work with telephoto lenses.[660] Wallihan preferred after 1894 to use Cramer's Crown plates, a Bausch & Lomb diaphragm shutter, and either a Gundlach Rectigraphic lens, or a Zeiss series II lens for greater speed. He attached a telephoto lens to the Zeiss in 1895, but found it "too slow for very effective work."[661]

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[657] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), p. 226.
[658] Ibid, p. 227.
[659] Ibid, p. 4.
[660] Ibid, p. 228.
[661] A.G. Wallihan, *Camera Shots at Big Game* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), p. 18.

ONE OF MY CAMERAS

Illustration 28: The camera used by C.G. Schillings on his safari in 1905.[662]

Heavy, bulky, and delicate camera equipment took much effort and organization to transport across a harsh and unforgiving land. Schillings thought that transporting photographic equipment was one of the most difficult tasks of the entire safari experience, his expedition requiring about 120 porters. "The least negligence in the equipment of a caravan," he wrote, "will sooner or later avenge itself on the road, probably far from all human help. My complicated and multifarious photographic equipment — the chemicals, instruments, and many other things — demanded a most careful disposition of the most trifling details. In many

[662] Source: C.G. (Carl George) Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905).

cases I had to carry double supplies, in case a load should be lost in the fording of a river, or in any other way."[663]

MY PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT

Illustration 29: The photographic equipment taken on safari by C.G. Schillings in 1905.[664]

It required much skill to master the technical aspects of photography. No replacements or spare parts were available in remote areas of Africa. One had to rely on the equipment already in one's possession, which rarely worked as intended. "We always seemed to be encountering new difficulties," Schillings complained in 1905. "Occasionally our flashlight [i.e. flash photography] experiments failed; the explosive compound smashed our apparatus, so much so that the iron parts of it, which were nearly a third of an inch thick, were torn and

[663] C.G. Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), p. 650.
[664] Source: C.G. (Carl George) Schillings, Flashlights in the Jungle (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905).

bent."[665] If the sky became overclouded, "the camera is no good."[666] The only means of securing a good photograph was for the photographer to stalk to "a certain position, well lit by the sun, and not too far off — conditions that are extremely difficult to bring about. Then he must have complete control over his nerves. His hands must not shake, or the picture will be spoilt."[667] Radclyffe Dugmore, who achieved perhaps the greatest success as a wildlife photographer before the First War, took a similar view:

> It is really quite remarkable how many opportunities there are for failure in animal photography. One may take every possible precaution beforehand, and see that each part of the apparatus is in perfect order, and then, at the critical moment, fail through forgetting some minute but important detail. The [photographic flash] device seemed actually to be governed by the spirit of trouble. Often we would test it repeatedly in every possible way with perfectly satisfactory results, and then, after waiting for hours, or even nights, for some animal to come within range, the wretched apparatus fails at the last moment.[668]

Most early wildlife photographers agreed that the only way to obtain decent photographs of live animals was by using the telephoto lens. But when it was used, the photographer had to take great pains to ensure the object of the picture came into proper focus. It was almost impossible to focus rapidly on any animal that was coming or going from the operator, for the distance of a few feet completely altered the telephoto focus. Even wind could cause enough vibration to spoil an image. Following each snap of the shutter, exposed plates had to be removed and safely stowed in an instant, and new ones inserted in the camera, which caused great noise and commotion and resulted in many lost opportunities. The whole process of storing plates or films took a great deal of care and preparation. Most photographers preferred plates because they yielded better images and were more reliable, but they had to be

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[665] Ibid, p. 27.
[666] Ibid, p. 236.
[667] Ibid, p. 236.
[668] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), p. 55.

stored in sealed tin cases and developed quickly after being exposed. Dugmore explained his technique in 1910:

> In my work every plate and film was developed within a day or two after being exposed, and prints on self-toning paper were made immediately, so that in case of breakage or loss I should have had at least a print of the subject. All your photographic outfit should be kept in water-tight cases, and chemicals of any kind must be in tins… Plate holders must be dusted frequently, as the fine dust, stirred up when on the march, finds its way into everything. If plates have been in the holders for several days they should be taken out and dusted, otherwise the pictures will show numerous minute spots.[669]

The difficulties of wildlife photography during the first two decades of the century help to explain why its practitioners achieved mediocre results. The outcome of Schillings's year in East Africa in 1904 and 1905 "extensively equipped" amounted to little more than a few mediocre prints of living game.[670] He spent months in vain trying to secure good photographs of elephants.[671] Edward Bennet fared even worse, despite his extensive experience in the field and fame as a hunter in British India. Although he gave his book the ambitious title *Shots and Snapshots in British East Africa* and spoke proudly of his ambitions, his actual results seem to present evidence of almost unmitigated failure at wildlife photography. Of the photographic plates published in his book (presumably the best he took), twenty-six depict camp life, scenery, and miscellaneous subjects; 21 are photographs of dead animals; one shows a captive lion; and one a live animal in the wild. Such were the difficulties of photographing wild animals with contemporary technology before 1914 that Bennet could manage on a four-month safari to secure only one good photograph of a live animal in the wild.

Even those who achieved a modicum of success turn out to be exceptions that prove the rule. Dugmore, who obtained the best photographs of live animals before 1914, did much

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669 Ibid, pp. 227-228.
670 C.G. Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), pp. 28-29.
671 Ibid, pp. 48-49.

of his work at night with a "flashlight," or flash photography, a practice that would later become highly regulated (and frowned upon) owing to its disturbance of game at watering holes. Dugmore's technique of nighttime flash photography involved building a small boma or game blind for concealment and protection, which was situated near a baited water hole or game path. The camera hunter could then either wait in silence until the moment arrived, controlling the camera by electric wires, or rig an automatic device that tripped the shutter when an animal came within range. It was an exciting if peculiar method, involving long hours of silence and stillness in the darkness of the African bush punctuated by a sudden burst of action. All at once, when the animal came within range, the dark silence would be pierced by the camera's explosive magnesium flash of flame and smoke, followed instantly by the animal's bolt out of sight in a thundering ruckus. Dugmore found it to be a tremendous thrill. "No branch of photography," he wrote, "offers greater possibilities for pleasure and excitement," and "in East Africa flashlight photography may be found at its very best, the possibilities are almost unlimited, the conditions most wonderfully favorable, and the variety of animal life as varied as the most ambitious could wish."[672]

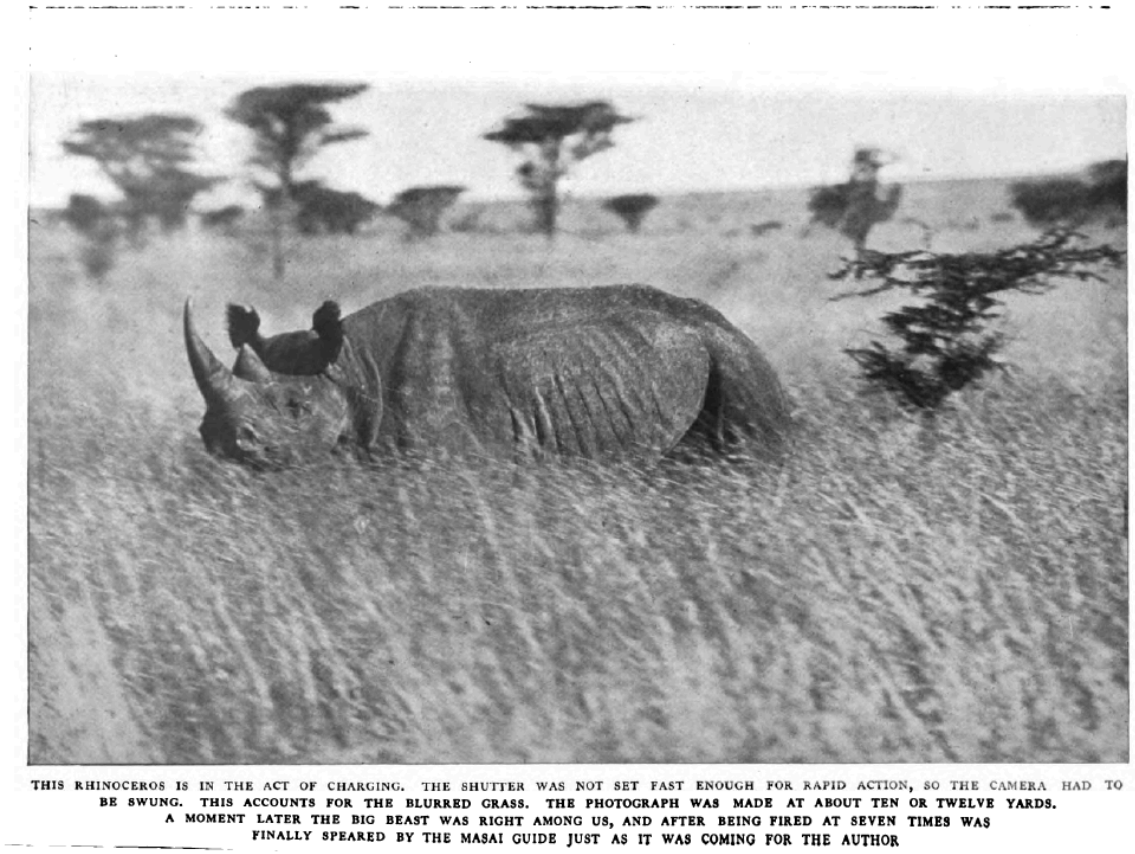
[672] A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), pp. 48-49.

Illustration 30: The "flashlight" used for nighttime photography produced a large, bright explosion that temporarily blinded the photographer and scared animals away. The photographer often did not know what image his camera had captured until the film was exposed.[673]

If the "flashlight" hunt at night provided one means of wringing results out of a difficult endeavor, other less savory methods led desperate photographers to compromise their avowed ethics. Schillings, who bemoaned the destruction of wildlife and touted camera hunting as a means of saving animals from the destruction of hunters, secured most of his photographs by sacrificing "lesser" animals as bait.[674] Typically the unlucky creature was a zebra or wildebeest

[673] Source: A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910).
[674] See, for instance, his account of securing lion photos with bait (pp. 390-95), and donkeys as bait (pp. 400 and 415). C.G. Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905).

killed and used to lure a pride of lions, which always enjoyed an easy meal. Dugmore frequently had to shoot and kill when he approached too close and animals charged the sound of his camera.[675] "After our last encounter with rhinoceros," he wrote, "I decided to steer clear of the cantankerous creatures while on the reserve, as photographing them evidently meant having to kill, or at least shooting more often than not, and I was afraid the authorities would consider I was breaking faith with them."[676]



THIS RHINOCEROS IS IN THE ACT OF CHARGING. THE SHUTTER WAS NOT SET FAST ENOUGH FOR RAPID ACTION, SO THE CAMERA HAD TO BE SWUNG. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THE BLURRED GRASS. THE PHOTOGRAPH WAS MADE AT ABOUT TEN OR TWELVE YARDS. A MOMENT LATER THE BIG BEAST WAS RIGHT AMONG US, AND AFTER BEING FIRED AT SEVEN TIMES WAS FINALLY SPEARED BY THE MASAI GUIDE JUST AS IT WAS COMING FOR THE AUTHOR

Illustration 31: Radclyffe Dugmore's photograph of a rhino.[677]

[675] See, for example, A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), pp. 20 and 25.
[676] Ibid, p. 28.
[677] Source: A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910).

Such abuses continued to occur in the interwar years as photography grew more popular. It became standard practice on guided tourist safaris to hunt in pairs, whereby the tourist carried a camera and the professional guide carried a heavy rifle, so that the guide could dispatch any charging beast, leaving the tourist free to concentrate on taking quality photographs. Since many tourists lacked the necessary degree of skill or patience, camera hunting became somewhat controversial. J.A. Hunter, who began guiding photographic safaris in the 1930s, expressed serious misgivings about the new sport:

> There is a popular belief that photographing big game is a harmless amusement while hunting the animals with a rifle is a cruel affair. In actual practice, there is often not much difference between the two sports, because when a photographer wants really first-class pictures of rhino, buffalo, or elephant, he will almost certainly be charged sooner or later. Then the animal must be killed. Photographers seldom realize this simple fact.[678]

Sometimes the sound of the shutter provoked the charge. More often than not, the source of provocation came from the unquenchable desire of the photographer always to secure a better picture, always to creep a bit closer, and always to test the limits until it was too late and the charging animal had to be killed in self-defense. Hunter was one of several guides among the professional hunting fraternity who required all his clients wishing to take photographs to purchase a hunting license "exactly as if he were going on a shooting safari."[679]

Occasionally photographers and filmmakers committed abuses. One contributor to *The Field,* who wrote under the name Cheviot, related the story of a "scandal" involving an American filmmaker named H.A. Snow, who had produced a film entitled *Hunting Big Game in Africa with Gun and Camera* (1923).[680] In order to obtain motion pictures, Cheviot explained, Snow was willing to subject animals to a degree of suffering that would never be tolerated by sportsmen. Snow reputedly ran down animals by car and wounded them so that

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[678] J.A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 242.
[679] Ibid, p. 243.
[680] Cheviot, "Shooting: A Shooter's Notebook," *The Field* (London), 28 June 1923.

they could not get away until filming was finished. In Kenya, two Englishmen had come upon Snow with two badly wounded eland. When questioned about the suffering of the animals, Snow replied that he intended to keep them alive until evening, when he would use them to film a sequence. Whether true or not, many hunters believed that their more "enlightened" photographer counterparts often committed heinous acts while proclaiming to the world their enlightened belief in the superiority of hunting with a camera. Snow's film went on to achieve fairly impressive commercial success, as will be seen in Chapter 8.

To prevent these abuses, the Game Department began contemplating photographic permits as early as 1920. "I am personally of the opinion," wrote G.H. Goldfinch, the Acting Game Warden, "that we might charge a licence say of florins 500 for taking cinematograph pictures when the party does not take out at least one full visitor's licence… While they profess only to take photos they are always putting themselves into positions which necessitate the shooting of animals in self defence."[681] Various versions of this law were implemented for different parts of Kenya during the 1920s and 1930s, but their application was uneven and their enforcement inconsistent. Debates arose over what kinds of photographers must obtain a permit, whether permits should be required in all parts of the country, and what fines should be levied if the photographer killed an animal in self defense. By 1936, the law had taken shape in a new Game Ordinance that regulated wildlife photography as follows. Visitors were required to purchase a photographic permit for certain areas of the country only, mostly in reserves or protected areas. Section 11 of the Game Ordinance further specified that "no game animal may be shot at except in self-defence" (ending the practice of baiting), while animals shot in self-defense incurred a fine and confiscation of the trophy (£25 for elephant, £10 for rhino, and £5 for any other game). No permit was needed when "no molestation whatever is

[681] G.H. Goldfinch to Hon. Ag. Treasurer, "Re: Sportsmen's Game Licenses," 18 November 1920. KNA: KW/27/4.

involved" – in other words, when photographers remained in cars and avoided close-range stalking of dangerous animals.[682]

Responsible practices could go a long way toward avoiding unnecessary killing. As photographers quickly discovered, animals will not usually charge unless wounded. Secondly, photographing animals on open land with short grass meant that safari parties were less likely to surprise or provoke dangerous animals.[683] Thirdly, the banning of hunting in certain areas led many animal species to become virtually tame in the presence of cars, lacking the fear and flightiness that the same species showed in areas that were heavily hunted. Finally, as the safari world learned after 1945 when national parks were opened for game observation and photography but not for hunting, the need to kill in self-defense would disappear almost entirely if tourists took pictures from the safety of cars and did so at a distance using cameras equipped with telephoto lenses.[684]

Critics of wildlife photography, like J.A. Hunter and Cheviot, undoubtedly reacted strongly as a corrective to the intimation that hunting was barbaric while photography was humane and enlightened. Yet there is a degree of duplicity in this view expressed by hunters. Hunting would always, without exception, result in the deaths of many animals. That was the whole point. Properly regulated use of the camera, on the other hand, could still fulfill the ideal of providing sport without the need to kill. The problem with wildlife photography owed not so much to the nature of the sport as to the irresponsible practices that either put photographers in harm's way (requiring animals to be shot in self defense) or involved the heinous abuse of

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682 A.T.A. Ritchie to P. Beverly, 8 August 1936. KNA: KW/18/17.

683 This point is emphasized in particular by G.H. Anderson, despite his generally low opinion of technological changes that came to the safari during the middle of the twentieth century. See G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 172.

684 For all his criticism of the photographic safari, this was suggested as the best solution by J.A. Hunter in *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 243.

animals to obtain pictures. The true advantages of the camera became clearer as time progressed and the sport's popularity spread, and this, combined with better regulations, helped to reduce abuses.

Taken together, these early endeavors in wildlife photography before the First World War underline the fact that wildlife photography was too demanding to be practiced on a wide scale before 1914. Except for professionals and enthusiasts, photography functioned primarily as an adjunct to hunting, allowing sportsmen to document their hunts with photographic prints. Schillings had written, in fact, that his object was "to encourage other sportsmen to *combine photography with shooting*," not necessarily to discard the rifle for the camera."[685] The professional guide John A. Hunter (1882-1963) later described the prevalence of the camera on safari before the war. "In my youth," he wrote, "the only animals that were photographed were dead animals… After your client had shot his trophy, he posed on the dead beast while you clicked the camera."[686] The purpose of this kind of photography was to fill game rooms and hunting memoirs with "trophy" photographs of the conquering hunter and his quarry. Dugmore summed up the pre-1914 attitude when he remarked that "few are willing to go into the work with enough perseverance to ensure a chance of success, for the difficulties [of wildlife photography] are great, and it requires a large amount of patience and application."[687]

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The efforts of the early pioneers of wildlife photography put the new sport on the map and helped to develop the techniques required for success. By the 1920s, rapid advances in camera technology and the adoption of the automobile began to overcome the difficulties that

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685 Emphasis is mine. C.G. Schillings, *Flashlights in the Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1905), p. 25.
686 John A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1952), p. 232.
687 A. Radclyffe Dugmore, *Camera Adventures in the African Wilds* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910), p. 226.

had precluded the widespread practice of animal photography before the First World War. A major breakthrough occurred in camera technology in the mid 1920s with the introduction of the "existing light," or "available light" camera, combined with newer, faster, more light-sensitive films. Today the available light camera is regarded as the first miniature camera with styling and aesthetics familiar in today's designs. Among the first and most famous offerings of the new "available light" camera was the German-made Ermanox, introduced in 1924, which fit easily in the hand and sported a large, light-gathering lens with an aperture of f/1.5.[688] Within a few years it was replaced by the much more flexible 35mm film camera, still known today, which borrowed many principles from the Ermanox but used inexpensive and fast-loading rolls of film rather than plates. The Leica, produced in Germany, came to dominate the field of 35mm cameras among professionals and experienced amateurs during the interwar years and beyond. The first offering marketed by the company sported a 50mm lens with an aperture of f/3.5, still a popular configuration today. Several years later, in 1932, Zeiss introduced a competitor called the Contax, which improved upon the Leica design by adding a built-in rangefinder and a rotating mechanism, allowing the photographer easily to focus the lens. A few purists preferred traditional designs, such as the larger format Rolleiflex, introduced in 1929, which resembled the twin-lens reflex of the 1890s but used twelve negatives of 2 and 1/4 inches square each.[689] One by one, the building blocks of the advanced handheld camera were falling into place, preparing the ground for a revolution in photographic safaris that would occur over the next several decades.

By the interwar years, therefore, photographers had at their disposal small, effective, and reliable cameras well suited for use in the field, allowing ordinary tourists without any

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[688] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present,* Revised Edition (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), p. 219.
[689] Ibid, p. 221.

special expertise to contemplate a photographic safari. The extent to which camera technology had made the photographic safari possible by the 1920s was illustrated by a series of outstanding photographs taken by Marcuswell Maxwell and published in *The Times* of London in 1929. The pictures had an electrifying effect when first seen by readers of *The Times* and others outside Africa. Many people were familiar with images of African wildlife by this time, but Maxwell's photographs showed animals as they had never been seen before. Viewers saw for the first time whole prides of lions napping under trees, indifferent to the photographer; lions feeding on zebra carcasses and climbing trees; rhinos browsing in fields, covered by tick birds; elegant giraffe towering above the scrub trees; buffaloes moving through heavy cover; and plains game gathering at waterholes. Maxwell later published additional photographs of elephants.[690] The *Times* touted the photographs as "examples of the satisfying trophies that the big game photographer can win," and added that Maxwell "had no earlier experience of big game stalking," an invitation to potential tourists everywhere to try their own hand.[691]

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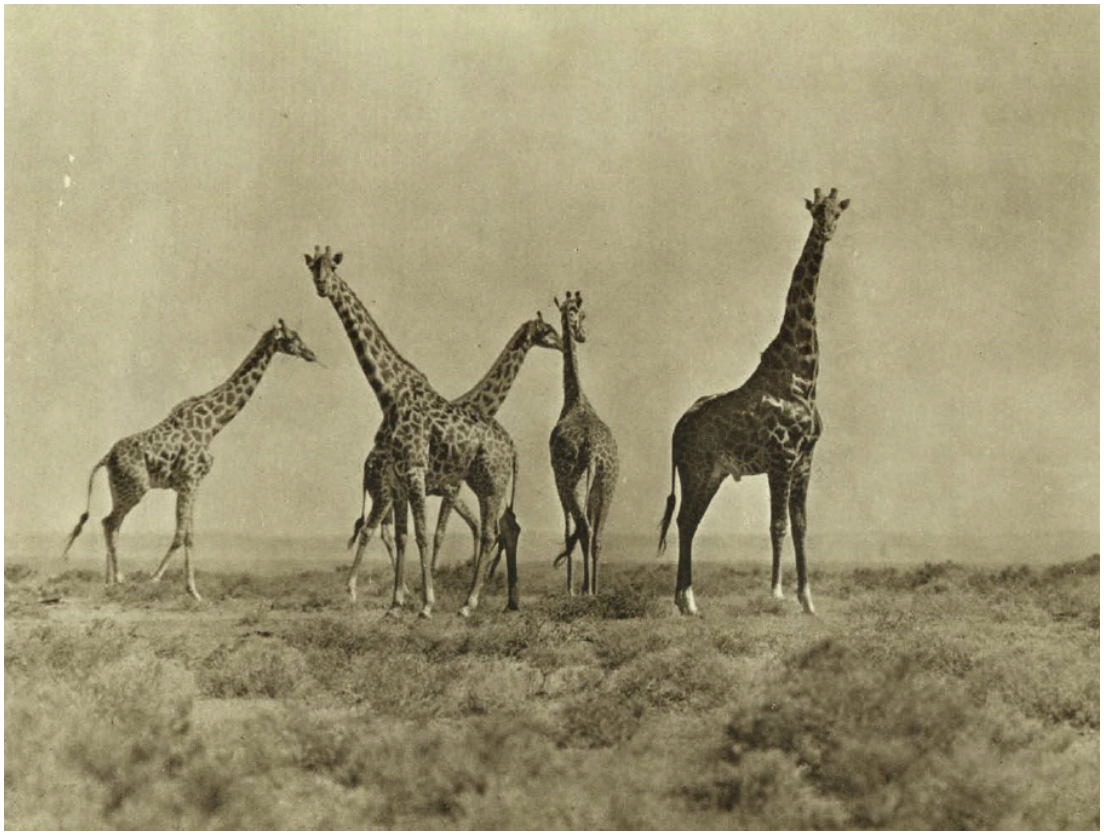
[690] Marcuswell Maxwell, "Elephant Studies from East Africa," *The Times* [London] 29 June 1929, p. 16.
[691] Foreword in Marcuswell Maxwell, *Big Game Photographs from the Times* (London: The Times, 1929). To be fair, Marcuswell Maxwell was not as inexperienced in photography as the booklet made it sound. He was already an accomplished photographer, just not an accomplished "big game stalker." Moreover, his brother, Marius Maxwell, a farmer in Kenya, had taken numerous accomplished photographs of African wildlife and published them as a book in *Stalking Big Game with a Camera in Equatorial Africa* (New York: Century, 1924).



Illustrations 32-38: Marcuswell Maxwell's *Big Game Photographs from The Times* (London: The Times, 1929).

Maxwell's photographs held great value as publicity material and soon became some of the most famous animal photographs taken in Africa before the Second World War. Safari firms and guidebooks often referred clients to his 30-page booklet as an example of what an inexperienced photographer could accomplish with good equipment, a little patience, and of course a paid professional guide. "To the fortunate possessor of a suitable camera and the necessary time," wrote *The East African Annual* in 1932, "pictures of thrilling interest lie to hand – as witness the wonderful photos recently taken by Colonel Marcuswell Maxwell."[692] Julian Huxley, a distinguished biologist, wrote similarly in 1931 that on the Serengeti Plains

[692] *The East African Annual: Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar* (Nairobi: East African Standard, 1932), p. 142.

"lions, as we all know from Colonel Marcuswell Maxwell's marvelous pictures in the *Times,* can be photographed, whole family parties of them, with no more *apparent* difficulty than rabbits at home" in England.[693]

There is an important point to be made here regarding the subtle shift of aesthetics that accompanied Maxwell's photographs. Photographs reflect ideas about what is beautiful in nature and desirable to see. The obsessions with photographing charging lions, rhinos, and elephants witnessed in the early work of Dugmore, Schillings, and others gave way, in the work of Maxwell, to photographs that sought to capture tranquil wildlife in its natural state, not charging or showing ferocity, nor posing danger to the cameraman, but rather napping and eating and laying in prides together. The ethic of manly hunting, which prized charging beasts as the ultimate image of masculine adventure, was giving way to a new ethic of eco-tourism that shifted the focus to the beauty and peacefulness of wildlife in its natural, undisturbed state.

* * *

Decades of effort and experimentation in wildlife photography had finally reached a stage of accessibility and mass appeal typified by Maxwell's excellent photographs. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine how many tourists visited Kenya in the interwar years for the purpose of wildlife photography, but circumstantial evidence provides some clues of its prevalence and growing popularity. One entity especially well placed to observe the trend with acuity was the Kenya Game Department, which monitored the whole of the Colony and reported on its wildlife populations as well as visitor traffic. As early as 1930, the Game Warden wrote that "indirect revenue [from wildlife tourism] comes largely – and will in increasing degree – from those who wish only to see, and are content with the more satisfactory,

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[693] Julian Huxley, *Africa View* (New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1931), p. 251. Huxley went on to become the secretary of the Zoological Society of London, the first director of UNESCO, and a founding member of the World Wildlife Fund.

if less easily acquired, trophies of the film."[694] Several years later he added that "it is very noticeable that the proportion of game photographers in comparison with game killers is gradually increasing in favour of the former."[695] Safariland's pamphlet in the late 1920s remarked that "nearly every expedition now includes a cinema camera."[696] Professor Hugo Salomen, President of the Argentine National Commission for the Protection of South American Fauna, following a visit to East Africa in 1939 and discussions over the future of national parks, remarked upon the "surprising" extent to which visitors to Kenya had replaced hunting with a gun with hunting with a camera, and hoped it would lay the foundation for the future in which wildlife tourism and wildlife preservation went hand in hand.[697]

Some new enterprises were created expressly to take advantage of opportunities for photography. Eric Sherbrooke Walker admitted that one of the reasons that encouraged him to build the Treetops Hotel in 1932 (later celebrated as the place where Princess Elizabeth became Queen in 1952) was "the idea of shooting animals with cameras instead of guns." People had long used cameras to take pictures posing with dead beasts, he commented. "By about 1931, though, a different trend was noticeable. An increasing number of visitors were interested in taking photographs of the animals. Perhaps the war had something to do with it; people on the whole were weary of blood and senseless death."[698] Walker judged, correctly, that creating new attractions that catered specifically to the photographer held the key to much future tourism in Kenya. Safariland, the leading outfitter through this period, summed up the

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694 "Game Department Annual Report, 1930 [Kenya]" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 7.
695 "Game Department Annual Report, 1936 [Kenya]" (A.T.A. Ritchie), p. 13.
696 *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony & Tanganyika Territory: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi, n.d., c. 1928), p. 2. KNA: MSS/115/43/29. The pamphlet is undated but was stamped by the Kenya government in 1928.
697 Hugo Salomon, "Sanctuary: East Africa's Mission in the Animal World: Famous Authority's Proposals" (1939). Originally published in the *East African Standard*. TNA: CO/323/1689/18.
698 Eric Sherbrooke Walker, *Treetops Hotel* (London: Robert Hale, 1961), p. 50.

state of the safari tourism industry in the 1930s, including a glimpse of the casual racism that pervaded the promotional safari literature of the period:

> To-day you may see Africa at your ease in a luxurious automobile, either camping throughout or, in a great many cases, using excellent country hotels… For many years now Equatorial Africa has been the happy hunting ground of the photographic artist, both professional and amateur, for there is nowhere in the world with equal facilities for travelling by car for hundreds and hundreds of miles with every variety of animal within camera shot, through endless miles of territories occupied by primitive savages.[699]

The best that can be done in terms of pinning this trend to statistical evidence is to indicate that ever growing numbers of people visited Kenya in the interwar years. Customs and immigration authorities had yet to mark out categories of arrivals that distinguished tourists from the rest, while national parks and designated tourist sites did not yet exist to keep their own tabulations of visitors. Imports of cameras and photographic equipment listed in trade reports did not count those belonging to tourists, which were considered the personal baggage of a passenger. Yet we do know how many people arrived in Kenya annually, as shown in Table 6.3.

[699] *Safariland Ltd.: Big Game Hunting & Photographic Safaris* (St. Albans, UK: n.d. [c. 1930s]), p. 11.

	Seaborne Arrivals		Air Arrivals
	Non-Europeans	**Europeans**	
1921	--	--	--
1922	5,675	3,563	--
1923	7,269	3,717	--
1924	9,575	4,354	--
1925	17,693	5,614	--
1926	16,231	7,098	--
1927	17,155	7,158	--
1928	15,678	7,864	--
1929	17,573	8,019	--
1930	16,724	7,272	7
1931	12,349	6,562	169
1932	10,209	5,391	441
1933	10,423	5,497	500
1934	12,739	5,977	577
1935	13,586	6,221	956
1936	15,247	6,704	1,080
1937	19,197	7,642	1,385
1938	17,568	8,427	1,224
1939	14,412	6,869	701

Table 9: Arrivals to Kenya and Uganda by Sea and Air.[700]

Such data must necessarily come with qualifications. Some of these arrivals, of course, were European settlers and their relatives. Others traveled into the country, or through it, on business or official assignments. Most non-Europeans were probably entering Kenya to find better work than their home country could offer. Owing to the social, political, and economic conditions of Kenya, and the distribution of wealth around the world, it is probable that an overwhelming majority of tourists were drawn from the ranks of "Europeans" who came by sea or air.

Within this group, of course, estimating tourist participation is little more than guesswork. Nevertheless, it is likely that a majority, perhaps even a large majority, of

[700] *Annual Trade Report[s] of Kenya and Uganda, for the year ended December 31st, 1922-1939* (London and Nairobi: Government Printers, 1922-40). The reference in the Seaborne Arrivals to Europeans refers to ethnic descent and therefore includes many Americans and other white visitors and not only to those arriving from the continent of Europe.

Europeans and air arrivals participated in wildlife tourism in some fashion or another, at least by the standards later used to calculate tourist numbers in the country – which is to say, by counting everyone who spent money to visit one of the country's special tourist attractions. With the advent of the motorcar and the appeal of the camera, it became very easy for visitors of all kinds, even those on business or en route to other destinations, to take quick trips to Kenya's game lands and enjoy the country's wildlife. Even a train ride on the Uganda Railway could qualify as wildlife tourism, perhaps even result in a few good pictures of animals in the game reserves along the railway corridor. The Athi Plains near Nairobi teemed with wildlife; the famous Tsavo area as well as the Shimba Hills contained many animals near Mombasa; and an increasing number of hotels offered day excursions (or longer) for those who had a little time and money to spare. With the advent of the automobile and the camera, safari tourism had entered a new phase of its existence, in which visitors to Kenya of all kinds could take time out of their schedules to enjoy wildlife and other natural attractions simply because it was (and is) what one does in Kenya. Already by the 1920s and 1930s, the social and economic barriers to participation in wildlife tourism were diminishing.

Indeed, it becomes difficult to find any book, pamphlet, advertisement, or article about Kenyan safaris in the interwar years that lacks some reference to the opportunities for "camera stalking," game photography, or other tourism involving the camera. Moreover, far from lamenting a new inroad on the traditional safari, professional hunters and safari companies were quick to embrace the trend, adding wildlife photography as a major component of their regular business, as we shall see in greater detail in the next chapter. Much of what Roosevelt and early proponents had said about the challenges of the sport and the skillful perseverance it required was true. Professional guides thus remained an essential part of photographic safaris. Besides organizing and leading the expedition, which had always been among their skillset, professional guides knew the land and where various species could be found. They were skilled

trackers. Because they knew the habits of wildlife, they could help judge when it was safe to move closer, and when the photographer should move to safety. And if, in the last resort, the client was in danger, the professional hunter was armed and ready to stop any charging animal. Support for wildlife photography among the professional hunting fraternity proved especially important because of the expertise they possessed, the influence they exerted over visiting sportsmen who might be persuaded to try the sport, and the skill they brought to bear when practicing photography in the wild.

Perhaps no professional hunter became better known as a proponent of the photographic safari in the interwar years than Denys Finch Hatton, who was already becoming famous by the end of the 1920s and would in a few years feature prominently in the writings of Karen Blixen. Finch Hatton had been introduced to wildlife photography in 1927 when he served as the guide to Frederick B. Patterson, an American client, on a five-month expedition to obtain motion pictures of African wildlife in the Serengeti. It was on this trip that Finch Hatton "first realized the enjoyment which was to be derived from the photographing of wild animals," as he explained in a June 1929 article in *The Times* that proclaimed to the world that "camera stalking" was the "new African sport."[701] The next year, 1928, he explained, partly as a result of the articles and photographs that resulted from Patterson's expedition, a "considerable" number of photographic parties visited the Serengeti region for the purpose of photographing the wildlife.

Finch Hatton repeated many of the virtues of the photographic safari that we have already seen in the works of earlier pioneers, as indeed most interwar photographers did. Hunting for pictures was "more exacting than hunting for trophies," he proclaimed. "For success it requires an equal knowledge of the quarry's habits; equal skill in tracking and in

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[701] Denys Finch-Hatton, "Stalking with a Camera: The New African Sport," *The Times* [London], June 29, 1929, p. 13.

finding him unawares; greater skill and patience in the actual approach, since the distance at which a good picture can be taken must nearly always be far less than the distance for a safe shot with a rifle."[702] These arguments had been stated many times with dizzying redundancy, but perhaps never before in a setting as prominent and widely read as an article in *The Times*. The key to this situation, the new element that made photographic safaris possible for everyone, "is to be found in the motor car," for "it is only by proper use of the motor car… that the great pleasure and privilege of observing these animals can at present be enjoyed."[703] There were still difficulties. Photographers sometimes committed abuses. A few critics even alleged that Kenya would lose revenue from the reduced sale of hunting licenses. But Finch Hatton disagreed, arguing prophetically that in the future "many more people would be willing to pay for the privilege of seeing… and for photographing rather than for shooting."[704]

* * *

Kenya's safari industry had thus discovered and embraced "the new African sport" of wildlife photography. This chapter has argued that the interwar years became a crucial period in the development of the new sport of wildlife photography. With the benefits of new technology and the contributions of early pioneers of camera hunting, the photographic safari reached maturity in the 1920s and 1930s and began to achieve mass appeal as a new form of tourism that preserved the best features of the safari while dispensing with its worst. Alongside the opening of Tanganyika as an alternative destination, wildlife photography is part of the explanation of why, in the interwar years, Kenya's safari industry continued to thrive despite attracting the lowest numbers of visiting hunters since before 1904.

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[702] Ibid, p. 13.
[703] Denys Finch-Hatton, "Lions at their ease - stalking by car - a privilege to guard," in *The Times* [London], January 21, 1928, p. 11.
[704] Ibid.

The photographic safari was perfectly suited to the safari tourism industry and would become in due course the principal source of its business. It furnished the same opportunities for challenge and excitement as the hunt but without the need to kill. The unique challenges of photography maintained the same need for professional guides and outfitters who knew the land and the habits of the game, which ensured that safari companies held a stake in the growth of the business. Photography also appealed to a wider variety of tourists in terms both of costs as well as of the activity itself, ideally suited to the coming age in which a growing majority preferred to observe and save nature rather than to "conquer" and kill. Because photography left animals alive to see another day, it theoretically removed the limits on expansion of the safari industry that were formerly imposed by finite animal populations (notwithstanding the disturbances caused by motorized visitor traffic). Above all, the great interest shown in this new tourist attraction, and the realization of its economic potential for East Africa, helped to drive major conservation initiatives across the region, including the quest, which began in the 1930s, to establish national parks in both Kenya and Tanganyika – animal sanctuaries that would underpin the profound expansion of wildlife tourism in the period after 1945.

Chapter 7: Widening Horizons: The Expansion of the Safari Industry in the Interwar Years

The interwar years saw the realization of two major developments that transformed the nature of safari tourism in Kenya. The first and arguably the most important concerned the modes of transportation used on safari. Beginning in the 1920s, automobiles gradually replaced human locomotion, while the term "safari" increasingly came to mean simply an excursion in Africa involving hunting or other forms of wildlife tourism. The second development, simultaneous but not directly related, concerned the motivations that led tourists to go on safari. Advances in camera technology and the growing accessibility of safari travel to different classes of tourists widened the variety of safari excursions to include photography and game viewing alongside the traditional big-game hunt.

We have already examined these developments in detail and seen some of the effects they had on the practices of wildlife tourism. This chapter extends the discussion by demonstrating how the changes played out within the industry itself, among the safari firms and professional hunters who promoted the safari, designed and organized the excursions, and influenced the tourist experience. Beyond adding substance to these developments by reference to the inner workings of the industry, this chapter makes several additional points. The first is that the nature of these changes was so profound that no safari company could continue to compete economically without adopting new innovations, such as the camera and the automobile, as regular components of their business operations. Second, new developments that expanded the possibilities created a corresponding variety of services offered by safari outfitters. That is to say, new entrants no longer had to compete wholly on the same terms. They could adopt different specialties, cater to different classes (or nationalities) of tourists, and carve out their own spheres of activity by offering unique kinds of tourist experiences. The well-known British travel company, Thomas Cook, for example,

vastly increased its presence in Kenya's wildlife tourism industry in the early thirties, but mainly by offering affordable, inclusive, photographic tours by train and automobile. The Outspan Hotel and its adjunct, Treetops, founded as tourist resorts, functioned as the home base – a kind of early safari lodge – from which hunting, photographic, fishing, and mountaineering excursions were launched across the region. More such examples will be seen in the discussion to follow. A wider variety of safari experiences meant a wider variety of safari outfitters, each concentrating on a specialized niche.

This chapter does not aim to survey Kenya's tourism industry in any comprehensive way (for its records are anyway too scattered), but rather to examine the main participants in the industry, indicate the nature and variety of the services they offered to visitors, and show how Kenya's tourist proprietors had begun to cope with the rapid changes unfolding during the 1920s and 1930s. As new varieties of tourism gained popularity and became more profitable, leaders of the industry, including its professional hunters, began to contemplate and prepare for a future in which trophy hunting would play a diminishing part – a subject to which we shall return in the final chapter.

* * *

With Newland and Tarlton gone from the scene and the logistics of the safari reduced by the automobile, the safari industry underwent a series of changes to its organization in the 1920s. The biggest firm to emerge was actually the successor to Newland and Tarlton, a firm called Safariland, Ltd., established in 1923, which "took over the premises, goodwill, records and most of the staff" of Newland and Tarlton.[705] There was substantial continuity between the two firms in management as well as method. Leslie Tarlton himself founded and ran the

[705] *Safariland Ltd.: Big Game Hunting & Photographic Safaris* (St. Albans, UK: n.d. [c. 1930s]), p. 1. A handbook and directory of East Africa published in 1922 still includes Newland and Tarlton as a safari outfitter. See *The Red Book 1922-23: Handbook and Directory for Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar Sultanate* (Nairobi and Mombasa: East African Standard, 1922), p. 491. By late 1923, Safariland had issued its own advertising pamphlet.

new company. Safariland continued to advertise overseas in *The Times* of London, and maintained the same branch office at 166 Picadilly.[706] The company continued to send agents to meet its clients at Mombasa, help its visitors clear luggage and board the railway, and put them up in hotels in Nairobi. The excellent premises the company inherited stood on a principal street a few minutes' walk from the banks and hotels. They covered nearly a quarter of an acre and contained facilities for the treatment of trophies, drying yards, a carpenter's shop, packing shed, and large storage accommodations in the main building that included private lockers. "We can safely state," the company proclaimed in the mid 1930s, "that we are the only self-contained Safari outfitting organization in Kenya Colony, carrying all necessary camp equipment, foods, etc.," meaning no services had to be contracted to an outside firm.[707]

Safariland set the standard for safari outfitting in the 1920s and 1930s. When other firms emerged, they tended to follow the model established by Newland and Tarlton and carried forward by Safariland, both in the methods of organization and in the services they offered to the visitor. At the same time, of course, Safariland, like other firms, had to adapt to many changes occurring in the interwar years. The most important of these involved the modes of transport. It is obvious in retrospect that the automobile would come to dominate safari travel, but the costs of maintaining a fleet were fairly high in the immediate postwar years, and it was far from apparent that motorized transport would hold special advantages when safari parties reached difficult terrain in areas with few or no roads. The costs of investing in a promising new technology had to be weighed against the risks that the expenditure would not pay off. Even still, Safariland quickly added motorized travel to its services and contributed to a long tradition in Kenya – still practiced today – of modifying cars with special "safari

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[706] See, for example, "Public Notices," *The Times* [London], 13 June 1931, p. 1. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 23 June 2015.

[707] *Safariland Ltd.: Big Game Hunting & Photographic Safaris* (St. Albans, UK: n.d. [c. 1930s]), p. 1. This undated pamphlet was published sometime after 1932, but the exact date is not clear.

bodies," which usually consisted of high roofs, camera and rifle racks, special gear compartments, and extra stowage for spare tires and equipment needed when far afield.[708]

A series of advertising pamphlets issued by the company in the 1920s illuminates how the automobile came to replace porters over the course of the decade. A pamphlet issued in 1923 indicated that porters were still used for most safari travel, but that automobiles could be arranged as well. By the end of the decade, the situation had reversed. Most tourist safaris, the pamphlet explained in 1923, would use porters and require about ten days' march from Nairobi to reach the shooting grounds, which meant that "the minimum time spent in the field should be two months."[709] During the rainy seasons when the earth turned to quagmire, "transport by means other than porters becomes impossible." Yet new options now existed, Safariland explained. "By employing motor cars and getting us to arrange the camp, pitched ready in the field, before the Visitor arrives, excellent bags have been secured in one month, but a Safari of this nature is more costly."[710] Only five years later, in 1928, Safariland remarked that "one ton trucks and box body cars have now almost entirely replaced porters," and that "practically every well-known make of car and truck – more especially American – is available in Nairobi."[711]

Safariland recommended that all tourists come to Nairobi with their personal kit only and leave the rest to the company, as import duties made it cheaper to obtain provisions and equipment in Nairobi. The expense depended upon the length of the safari and the degree of luxury, but Safariland estimated in the late twenties that a "properly equipped safari" averaged

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[708] The local modifications of automobiles by safari proprietors in Kenya reinforces the conclusions reached by Ronald Kline and Trevor Pinch in "Users as Agents of Technological Change: The Social Construction of the Automobile in the United State," *Technology and Culture,* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct., 1996), pp. 763-795.

[709] *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi: 1923), p. 4.

[710] Ibid, p. 4.

[711] *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony & Tanganyika Territory: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi, n.d., c. 1928), p. 8. KNA: MSS/115/43/29.

from £150 to £200 per month per gun, not including the White Hunter's salary (£50 to £250 per month, depending on the reputation of the hunter), cost of battery, licenses, use of motorcars, or mounting of trophies – all large expenses. For longer safaris, the company recommended purchasing a Ford with a "specially built safari body" for a price of about £220.[712] Safariland rarely quoted *total* costs because the requirements of each client varied so much, but an indication of the total expenses was given by a 1934 Safariland advertisement listed in *The Times* of London for "big game hunting and photography" conducted by G.H. Anderson and J.A. Hunter. Safariland advertised an inclusive three-month safari, starting from London and covering Angola, Belgian Congo, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, and Kenya for £1,500 per gun inclusive.[713] This was a multi-country hunt on the high end of the scale, but the costs were representative of what other firms charged at the time for a safari of similar length.

Those in search of an affordable safari could arrange for "shooting over a number of private estates" at "minimum expense," which Safariland was prepared to arrange with the landowners on the affordable Visitor's Private Land license, the updated version of the Traveller's license examined in previous chapters.[714] For those interested in photography, Safariland made it known that "we specialize in arranging trips for cinema operators." The company and its guides knew the best areas for game photography, took proper precautions with films and photographic equipment, and had assisted Martin Johnson on his highly successful photographic expedition through the 1920s. Safariland also took pains to ensure that each client's trophies were prepared, packed, and shipped with the greatest care. In the

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[712] Ibid, p. 11.
[713] "Big Game Hunting and Photography," *The Times* [London] 6 June 1934, p. 1. *The Times Digital Archive*. Web. 25 June 2015.
[714] *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony & Tanganyika Territory: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi, n.d., c. 1928), p. 8. KNA: MSS/115/43/29, p. 16.

1920s and 1930s, like Newland and Tarlton before the war, Safariland offered the full range of safari services under experienced management and remained a leader of the industry.

Safariland claimed that "all the leading professional hunters are well known to us" and that "demand for experienced White Hunters exceeds the supply."[715] Indeed, professional hunters remained essential to all types of safaris, hunting as well as photographic, and accordingly remained in high demand. Among the professional hunters who guided for Safariland over the years were Leslie Tarlton, R.J. Cunninghame, Alan Black, Bill Judd, G.H. Anderson, Arthur Hoey, George Outram, Sydney Waller, Philip Percival, Al Klein, Denys Finch Hatton, Bror Blixen, Vivian Ward, Jack Lucy, Pat Ayre, J.A. Hunter, Wally King, Tom Murray Smith, Jack Riddell, Colonel W.V.D. Dickenson, and others.[716] Safariland's first managing director was Paul Whetham. After the Second World War, Jim Corbett, a famed tiger hunter and author from India, became a director of the company. John A. Hunter recalled that Safariland kept "a number of white hunters on its payroll" and that, "during the boom years of the twenties, as soon as one of us returned from a safari, he was immediately sent out on another."[717]

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It appears that it took several years following the end of the war for other safari firms to enter the business. In 1922, just before Newland and Tarlton was liquidated, only two other firms were listed as "safari outfitters" in the handbook and directory of East Africa: Reel and W.P. Wilson of Tanga, Tanganyika; and Stewart's Stores in Dar es Salaam, but neither appears

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[715] *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi: 1923), p. 10.
[716] Brian Herne, *White Hunters: The Golden Age of African Safaris* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), p. 175. See also J.M. Silvester to T. Murray Smith (Safariland), 6 February 1936. Box 8, *Records of EAPHA*. See also J.A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 51.
[717] J.A. Hunter, *Hunter* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 51.

to have offered the full range of safari services, as we saw in the previous chapter.[718] Safariland, in other words, secured most of Kenya's safari business in the early 1920s, along with Cottar Safari Service, as we shall see momentarily. A few experienced professional hunters undoubtedly moonlighted, but their activities are largely lost to the historical record. By the end of the decade, however, visitors enjoyed a number of options with well-known firms recommended by the East African Professional Hunters' Association: Safariland (Nairobi), Shaw and Hunter (Nairobi), the Outspan Hotel (Nyeri), Africa Guides (Nairobi), and, on occasion, Thomas Cook & Son (Nairobi), although Cook's inclusive, affordable tours concentrated on photographic tours and game viewing (often from trains and automobiles) rather than safaris in the traditional sense.[719] Cottar Safari Service appears to have received many clients, but the firm was not recommended by the EAPHA for reasons we will see later. P. Beverly of Mweiga, who started out guiding as a freelancer and occasionally for the Outspan, went into business for himself in 1936, offering 14-day safaris for £100 and claiming that "we can outfit safaris to suit every taste, from the luxury safari with wireless and Frigidaire, to what we really cater for, and that is the genuine sportsman of limited means who has hitherto never seriously considered the idea of a safari in East Africa owing to the expense attached to it."[720] By 1937, Motor Tours, Ltd., Gibbs' Auto Tours, Gethin and Hulett, and A.N. Davidson joined their ranks.[721] Others would follow.

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718 *The Red Book 1922-23: Handbook and Directory for Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Uganda Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar Sultanate* (Nairobi and Mombasa: East African Standard, 1922), p. 491.

719 All of these companies except Cottar Safari Service (for reasons discussed later) were among the short list given to interested clients by J.M. Silvester, the secretary of the EAPHA, in 1938. See Silvester to H.F. Acaster (South African Cyanamid, Ltd.), 20 September 1938. Box 8, *Records of EAPHA*.

720 P. Beverly, Advertising Pamphlet, *East Africa: The Wonderland of Big Game* (n.d., c. 1938), p. 7. KNA: KW/18/17.

721 J.M. Silvester to Colonel C.R. Kilkelly, 23 April 1937. Box 9, *Records of the EAPHA*.

Among the first reputable outfitters to join Safariland after the war was Shaw and Hunter, which started out as a gunsmith and firearms dealer in 1923 at the initiative of Roland Morrison Shaw, who had worked for 15 years as a gunsmith in London at the well-known firm Westley, Richards, and Co.[722] Shaw and Hunter quickly emerged as a leading gunsmith in Nairobi and became acquainted with most of Kenya's sportsmen and professional hunters. With its favorable location on Sixth Avenue in Nairobi and agencies in both England and the United States, the company was well placed to expand its business interests into the safari trade. It possessed many commercial connections overseas, including for importing goods and advertising to elites in foreign countries, and its name became well known among sportsmen in both Kenya and abroad. Shaw and Hunter illustrates that firms established for other enterprises could enter the safari business and make it a success, in many cases actually benefiting from the overlap in clientele between the gun-smithing and safari branches of its trade. Shaw and Hunter in fact benefited even from safaris the company did not guide by supplying firearms, ammunition, and goods to other firms.

In later years, after Shaw and Hunter became famous and established the "Shaw and Hunter Trophy" (the "Oscar" of African hunting), many writers assumed that the "Hunter" in the name referred to John A. Hunter, the famous guide, but this is false. Until 1925, the company existed as a partnership between Roland Morrison Shaw and a Mrs. Hilda Hunter. The partnership was dissolved in June of that year, but the company continued to use the same name under the sole ownership of Roland Morrison Shaw.[723] It appears that Shaw and Hunter began outfitting safaris shortly after its foundation, benefiting from its name recognition and always able to fall back on its main business as Nairobi's leading gunsmith. As early as 1924,

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[722] Allister Macmillan, *Eastern Africa and Rhodesia: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources* (Collingridge, 1930), p. 168.
[723] General Notice No. 830, "Dissolution of Partnership," *Kenya Gazette,* 26 August 1925, p. 825.

one visiting hunter wrote of "reporting to the 'safari ground' next to Shaw and Hunter's gun shop" before heading out on safari, indicating that Shaw and Hunter was already by then engaged in the business.[724] The writer Jan Hemsing, who interviewed many of Kenya's white hunters for her books, wrote that Donald Ker took his second job with Shaw and Hunter, "occasionally conducting client safaris for them as a prelude to starting up on his own."[725]

Ker's connection to Shaw and Hunter probably began around 1925 and lasted through the 1930s. Ker, born in 1905, had hunted extensively throughout his youth. He took his first proper safari at age sixteen with his friend, Mike Cottar. Ker started working immediately upon leaving school, so he probably began his second job as a guide for Shaw and Hunter around 1925, when he was twenty, give or take a few years. Shaw and Hunter continued to guide safaris through the 1920s and 1930s. Robert Carpenter, an American hunter, wrote in 1936 that his party was met in Nairobi "by Don Ker and Mr. Shaw of the outfitting firm of Shaw and Hunter."[726] The EAPHA called Donald Ker "one of our most active members" in 1936 and continued to recommend Shaw and Hunter, for which he still guided, as one of the reputable outfitters in Nairobi as late as 1938.[727] After the war, Ker became a partner with Sid Downey in the firm Ker and Downey, Ltd., which continues to be a leader in luxury Kenya safaris to this day.

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The EAPHA's list omitted one of the major safari companies operating in the interwar years, Cottar Safari Service, owing to numerous infractions of the law, which turned the company into a pariah among other members of the safari trade. The company was founded

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[724] Richard Lightburn Sutton, *An African Holiday* (C.V. Mosby Co, 1924), p. 63.
[725] Jan Hemsing, *Encounters With Lions* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1994), p. 76.
[726] Robert R.M. Carpenter and William K. du Pont Carpenter, *Game Trails from Alaska to Africa* (Carpenter, 1938), p. 56.
[727] Silvester to E.C. Mills, 23 January 1936; and Silvester to H.F. Acaster (South African Cyanamid, Ltd.), 20 September 1938. Box 8, *Records of EAPHA*.

by Charles Cottar toward the end of 1918 and was later joined by his sons, Mike and Bud Cottar. Charles Cottar, born in Iowa in 1874, had been a cowpuncher in Texas and Oklahoma, where his large 6'4" frame and great physical strength served him well. He first traveled to East Africa after being inspired by newspaper accounts of Theodore Roosevelt's safari in 1909-10.[728] He was a restless adventurer determined to enjoy the same adventure on a budget. When he arrived in Mombasa in 1910, he hired the bare minimum of African assistants from Newland and Tarlton and set off alone, on foot, and managed to make his safari a success. He returned for a second safari in 1911.[729] Once back in Oklahoma, where his African trophies attracted many admirers, he decided to migrate to British East Africa for good, returning to settle in 1915.[730] He sold his business and investments in the United States and purchased twenty acres west of Nairobi, becoming neighbors with Leslie and Jessie Tarlton, Alan Black, R.J. Cunninghame, Blayney Percival, and Paul Zimmerman (who would become a leading taxidermist in Nairobi).[731] Cottar hunted ivory in Uganda and the Belgian Congo, made successful wildlife films shown in New York, and over time turned his upstart safari company into a success – at least economically speaking. Unique among East Africa's professional hunters, his company outfitted hunts across the world, including in India, Nepal, and the Far East.

Cottar Safari Service operated on the principle that one should never let the law get in the way of good business. Judging by the clientele of the firm and the fact that the Cottars kept busy with a constant stream of visitors, it appears that Cottar Safari Service was one of the most successful firms in Kenya in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly among the American

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728 "Obituary: Mr. Charles Cottar: A Pioneer of Big Game Hunting," *East African Standard,* 10 September 1940. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.
729 Brian Herne, *White Hunters* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), p. 104.
730 "Obituary: Mr. Charles Cottar: A Pioneer of Big Game Hunting," *East African Standard,* 10 September 1940. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.
731 Brian Herne, *White Hunters* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), p. 105.

visitors that Charles Cottar recruited aggressively as clients. Yet the company's legal record was deplorable. The company's checkered history illuminates two important facts about Kenya's safari industry in the interwar years. The first is that some safari companies and professional guides could enjoy financial rewards – in the form of increased clientele and possibly handsome gratuities – for behaviors that skirted or outright broke the law. Second, because the safari industry functioned as a kind of "fraternity" in which every hunter knew the others, competing firms and professional hunters tended to do everything in their power to impose rules on those like the Cottars who refused to abide by law and conform to accepted gentlemanly codes of "sport" and "fair play."

One source of resentment among the safari fraternity was that the Cottars employed what others in the industry regarded as crass American commercial practices by advertising extraordinary low costs and "guaranteeing" certain bags. The trophy guarantee in particular was viewed as unsportsmanlike, since the desperation to fulfill the guarantee would encourage desperate and occasionally illegal methods. In the later 1930s, for example, the Cottars guaranteed on a 14-day safari costing £300 "four lions, a rhino or buffalo, perhaps both, zebra, ostrich, and 10 varieties of antelope in adequate numbers," an immense bag for the short time involved.[732] Around the same time, a different Cottar pamphlet offered their "A-1 Safari de Luxe" at £300 a month with everything provided, including automobiles, white hunters, and all equipment; and an "economical" safari, also with a white guide but somewhat fewer amenities, for only £150 a month.[733] An article in the April 1938 of *Sports Afield*, entitled "Filming in Africa," quoted Charles Cottar as saying that clients would be charged only £200 a month for a fully equipped safari of one month, including licenses, guns, ammunition, topnotch guides, provisions, motor cars, and natives, complete with a "guarantee" of an

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[732] *Big Game Hunting in Africa and Asia with Cottar Service* (n.d., c. 1937). KNA: MSS/115/43/27.
[733] *Cottar Safari Service: Big Game Hunting in Africa & Asia* (n.d., c. 1937). KNA: MSS/115/43/27.

elephant bearing 100-pound tusks. "This affects the Association adversely," the EAPHA commented, after discussion at a committee meeting.[734] Either Cottar was lying about his prices and misleading potential clients, or he really offered safaris that cheap, well below the fees that any "respectable" outfitter affiliated with the EAPHA could maintain.

Complaint about the Cottars extended much further than low fees and guarantees alone. The safari fraternity, and the EAPHA in particular, regarded Charles Cottar as a renegade and his sons hardly better. Charles, "Bwana Cottar," as he liked to be called, became *persona non grata* with the EAPHA and the East African governments owing to numerous infractions of the game laws and unapologetic use of disapproved methods when guiding clients on safari. Charles Cottar had been the guide of H.A. Snow, the filmmaker we encountered in the previous chapter, who chased down and wounded animals in order to film them later in the day. Cottar Safari Service had also issued publications advertising illegal methods of hunting, such as shooting at night, sitting over kills, hunting with trap guns, and other such practices that were forbidden in Kenya and Tanganyika.[735] In one pamphlet, the Cottars told clients that "the hunter need not walk a mile a day," before proceeding to explain that they would simply drive up to game, dump the guide and hunter in position for a shot, and drive the car a further 100 yards (which was itself illegal: the law was 200 yards).[736] "Don't pass us up for other and reactionary outfitters," the pamphlet proclaimed. "We lead, blaze new trails as we have ever done; and in results will ever continue to do."[737]

Advertising illegal practices made the Cottars an easy target because it was simple to prove their violations, but the Cottars were suspected, sometimes accused, of far worse. The

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[734] Minutes of the Committee Meeting of the EAPHA, 14 July 1938. Box 19, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[735] "Sport Without Tears: Cottar's Safari Service," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire,* October 1937, New Series, Part XXXII (Hertford: Stephen Austin and Sons, 1937), pp. 36-38.
[736] *Cottar Safari Service: Big Game Hunting in Africa & Asia* (n.d., c. 1937). KNA: MSS/115/43/27.
[737] Ibid.

EAPHA received and discussed a report in 1938 that Charles Cottar, during a safari in the waterless Northern Frontier District, had left two natives behind who had subsequently died as a result.[738] The incident almost certainly would have resulted in a criminal investigation had Charles Cottar not died in a hunting accident the following year (1939). Other illegal activities involved hunting, not criminal neglect of employees. Enforcing game laws was, in practice, very difficult, for the offenses happened far afield in the presence of others who either did not know better or did not care. Most outfitters and professional guides complied with the law only because it posed risks to their reputation if word of their violations got around.

But the law eventually caught up with the Cottars. In May 1938, Budd Cottar was convicted of the illicit shooting of lion in the Southern Maasai Reserve and sentenced to a fine of £60 or six months imprisonment.[739] Charles Cottar was convicted that August, but appealed his case on a technicality. "If this happens," J.M. Silvester, the Secretary of the EAPHA wrote, "it will be most unfortunate as Cottar has had a very long run and it is high time that his activities were checked."[740] The unscrupulous methods of the Cottars met particular criticism following an article that appeared in the October 1937 issue of the *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire,* entitled "Sport Without Tears," roundly condemning the Cottars and the unsportsmanlike and illegal methods they condoned.[741] The EAPHA, caught up in the backlash over the firm's practices, wrote a letter to *The Field,* then the leading sporting magazine in the United Kingdom, distancing itself from the Cottars.[742]

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738 Minutes of Committee Meeting of the EAPHA, 27 October 1938. Box 19, *Records of EAPHA*.
739 J.M. Silvester to Egerton C. Mills, 29 June 1938. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
740 J.M. Silvester to F.K. Pullen, 18 August 1938. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
741 "Sport Without Tears: Cottar's Safari Service," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire,* October 1937, New Series, Part XXXII (Hertford: Stephen Austin and Sons, 1937), pp. 36-38. The article was based on a report from Dr. J.C. Phillips, Chairman of the American Committee of International Wild Life Protection, who had read a leaflet issued by the Cottars in the United States.
742 Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 31 December 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.

The original cause of offense in this instance was illegality along the lines described above, but once the story spread, other papers made Cottar Safari Service a lightning rod for the ethics of trophy hunting in general (rather like the case of Cecil the Lion in the summer of 2015).[743] The furor that resulted, the interwar version of the "viral" story, led to so many sensational claims about the nature of the Cottars' activities in the international press that the highest levels of government became involved in search of answers about the true nature of their behavior. The Cottars reputation had become so bad, on account of breaches of the game laws and rumors of worse, that the Governor of Tanganyika himself, Mark Aitchison Young, wrote about them at length in a memorandum to Malcolm MacDonald, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1939. The hunts guided by the Cottars in Tanganyika were illegal, Young wrote, despite the fact that Cottar Safari Service had advertised Tanganyika hunts through the 1930s and billed the country as "the best hunting-ground, for a big collection in shortest time and at lowest cost to the hunter."[744] "Their reputation is bad," Young continued, "and no game licenses or Professional Hunter Licenses have been issued to any member of the family for the last eleven years," except once by mistake. All three Cottars were barred from taking out game licenses of any description in Tanganyika. "Any shooting trips, therefore, which may have been conducted by the Cottar's Safari Service during the last eleven years in Tanganyika have been conducted illegally," but the Governor admitted that their safaris in Kenya (still permitted, despite the Kenya Game Department casting a wary eye) might cross the border into Tanganyika.[745]

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[743] See, for example, The Associated Press, "US Man Accused in African Lion Death Thought Hunt Was Legal," *New York Times* (July 28, 2015). When Walter Palmer, a Minnesota dentist used illegal methods to kill Cecil, an "iconic" lion, it sparked a firestorm of criticism in the international press and on social media.
[744] *Cottar Safari Service: Big Game Hunting in Africa & Asia* (n.d., c. 1937). KNA: MSS/115/43/27.
[745] Sir Mark Aitchison Young (Governor of Tanganyika) to Malcolm MacDonald, MP (Secretary of State for the Colonies), 30 October 1939. TNA: CO/323/1689/31.

Nor is it the case that a jealous hunting fraternity simply tarred Charles Cottar with a brush. He freely admitted misdeeds and illegality in connection with his hunting. In an interview with *Field and Stream* magazine in 1938, Cottar admitted that his "own private devil is a game law." He said he had moved to Africa to get away from the laws and roads and modern development happening in Texas and Oklahoma, feeling that East Africa was filled with "a breed of men [he] could understand," men who were like the Englishmen who came to America before the Revolution. Once Cottar arrived, however, he found that he had "emigrated to an English colony in Africa where law is god – where I ran into it and fell over it, and now and then broke it, nearly every day for twenty years."[746] This did not count his admission to *Field and Stream* of hunting ivory illegally in the Belgian Congo, allowing his cook to be eaten by pygmies (so he said), and smuggling illegal ivory all across the region.

Even still, this never stopped the flow of clients to Cottar Safari Service. Charles Cottar was a good self-promoter and understood the psyche of American clientele. And despite all their indiscretions and illegal activities in Kenya and Tanganyika, the sheer scope of the Cottars' hunting exploits across Africa and Asia ensured that they became legends in the hunting world in the 1920s and 1930s. Ultimately, however, these legends were cut short by the deaths of Charles Cottar in 1939 and his son, Mike Cottar, in 1941, both in tragic hunting accidents.[747] Charles Cottar was killed by a charging rhino that he was trying to film. Mike Cottar died in July 1941 shortly after a hunt with a client. A buffalo Mike shot tumbled down a hill and bowled him over as it fell. Miraculously, Mike appeared unhurt. But the impact had ruptured his enlarged spleen (a result of numerous bouts with blackwater fever), and he died suddenly at the age of thirty-six. Partly as a result of these tragic ends, and partly because the

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[746] Bwana Cottar, "On the Ivory Trail: Thrills, Action, and Drama aplenty in hunting the dangerous African elephant," as told to Edison Marshall, *Field and Stream* (December 1938). Press clipping in Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.

[747] Brian Herne, *White Hunters* (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), pp. 350-51.

Cottars soon became reputable and upstanding members of the safari fraternity, the family has generally been remembered in positive terms by other members of the safari fraternity that have written about their experiences in interwar Kenya. The buccaneering behavior of Charles Cottar in particular (and to a lesser extent his sons) that irked the members of the EAPHA in the 1930s has largely been replaced by a general feeling of endearment.[748]

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If Cottar Safari Service represented the preferred outfitter for the rowdy crowd that did not want game laws to stand in the way of their vacation fun, another option existed for urbane, middle-class travelers who wanted an altogether different experience of East Africa. Thomas Cook emerged during the interwar years as a leading option for tourists interested in photography and game viewing.[749] As we saw in the first chapter, Cook's business in the early part of the century consisted mainly of inclusive tours that carried travelers by train and other mass transit for discounted group rates, both along the Uganda Railway and up the Nile to Lake Victoria. Thomas Cook's involvement in East African tourism remained confined to such tours through the 1920s and into the early 1930s. A Cook pamphlet issued in 1928, for example, listed six different pre-arranged, guided, inclusive tours in East Africa, on which tourists could journey, mostly by rail, through numerous cities and sites in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Sudan, and Egypt. One tour, which embarked from London, landed in Nairobi and journeyed on to Cape Town.[750]

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[748] See, for example, Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996); Peter Hathaway Capstick, *Death in the Long Grass: A Big Game Hunter's Adventures in the African Bush* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 140.

[749] For introductions to the history of the company, see especially Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991); and Jill Hamilton, *Thomas Cook: The Holiday-Maker* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton, 2005).

[750] *Specimen Itineraries of Tours to Kenya and Uganda* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., 1928).

Thomas Cook greatly increased its presence in East Africa in 1933, when the company opened its first branch offices in East Africa, one at Nairobi and one at Mombasa, citing an "increase of tourist traffic which led to this development."[751] By 1936, Thomas Cook offered numerous inclusive tours and had offices "fully equipped to deal with every branch of tourist business," including shipping, forwarding of luggage, banking, and exchange.[752] Noteworthy additions to its options included automobile tours and many wildlife attractions. Cook's 65-page travel guide issued in 1936 became one of the first advertisements to depict East Africa primarily as a scenic getaway for the middle-class tourist, rather than as a sportsman's paradise that must be hunted before it was too late. It painted a picture of exotic, unchanged natural attractions – "snow-clad equatorial peaks," "great inland seas," "treasure-parks of game," and "native peoples little altered" – in a land that was modernized, made secure, and "changed as by a fairy wand."[753] In place of the "pathetic and ghastly procession of enslaved and yoked human cattle," who formerly marched in caravan style, Cook promised a comfortable train ride through a land of cultivated farms and beautiful, variegated scenery. On such journeys, the tourist could see the transformation of this region as they passed settler farmsteads and signs of British civilization, including cricket and polo fields, churches, clubs, schools, charming native villages, and Christian missions "manned… by heroic self-denying men and women."[754] It was a thoroughly colonial portrait of a decidedly colonial setting, intended to show the beneficent effects of British colonial rule. But the "dominating" feature of this land was its variety, which evoked the sublime: great plains, great lakes, great forests, towering mountains, infernal tropical sun, and extinct volcanoes, interspersed with picturesque park-like scenery

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[751] *Travel in East Africa: Cook's Handbook for Kenya Colony, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1936), p. 5.
[752] Ibid, p. 5.
[753] Ibid, p. 7.
[754] Ibid, pp. 7-8.

and "game in such variety and numbers as the whole remainder of the world cannot surpass today."[755] Then there was Uganda, its luxuriant vegetation, its magnificent lakes and waterfalls, and the origins of the Nile, the long-sought destinations of the great explorers, made accessible to the tourist by train, steamship, and motorcar.

Cook promised the tourist all the greatest attractions of the region in easy, inclusive, relatively affordable tours of great variety. The 1936 guidebook offered no fewer than 30 different tours around the region, plus additional special tours from Cairo to Cape Town. Among the cheapest, those aimed at passengers passing through Mombasa perhaps, involved "driving by private car around Mombasa," which cost 26 shillings for two people and lasted 2 ½ hours. For £66 per person, tourists could enjoy a round-trip journey from Mombasa to Nairobi, Mount Kenya, Thomson's Falls, Naivasha, and then on to Uganda's Ripon Falls, Kampala, Mountains of the Moon, and Lake Victoria, before heading back to Mombasa.[756] Once in Nairobi itself, the tourist could hire Cook's automobile tours as far as Nanyuki (north of Mount Kenya) for around £15 per person; or travel from Nairobi to northern Tanganyika – including the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater – for around £29.[757] Most other tours fell within this price range, a few being more expensive trips farther afield. The grand "Cairo to the Cape" package tour, a journey of about 11,000 miles, cost £590.[758]

Cook's tours, as we have already seen, fell a bit outside the traditional safari experience, but the company clearly sought to make the most of the region's wildlife attractions in the tours it designed for its clients. In tours from Mombasa to Nairobi, for example, Cook touted the splendid herds of wildlife seen from the windows of the train. On the special motorcar tour from Nairobi to the Great Rift Valley, Cook promised "close-up view[s] of

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[755] Ibid, p. 10-11.
[756] Ibid, p. 17.
[757] Ibid, pp. 18-19.
[758] Ibid, p. 47.

game."[759] Tourists could also enjoy journeys to the Athi Plains, the Great Rift Valley escarpment, the Southern Game Reserve (where game was "sufficiently tame to enable photographs to be taken at close range"), Naivasha and Nakuru in the Rift Valley (where flamingoes could be seen in teeming thousands), and many other locales.[760] Special tours, lasting six to eight days, took tourists from Nairobi to Kilimanjaro and Arusha, including the Serengeti and the Ngorongoro Crater, promising beautiful scenes of wildlife all along the way.[761] The prices ranged from as low as £14 per person if the traveling party was sufficiently large, to as much as £30 for longer and more extensive trips. Suffice it to say that nearly all of the thirty-plus tours offered by Thomas Cook & Son in 1936 involved wildlife observation and photography of some kind or another in a land already known as the world's premier destination of safari adventures.

A few Cook adventures catered specifically to the safari crowd. Tour No. 28, the only one of its kind on the company's list, offered "camping safaris" in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater, where "unsurpassed numbers of lion and other big game may be seen and photographed at close range."[762] This tour was primarily billed as a photographic safari, but, if the tourist desired to hunt, they could do so on the £10 Visitor's 14-Day license. "Each safari [photographic as well as hunting] is under the personal direction of an experienced White Hunter," Cook informed its clients, "and includes fully equipped motor transport with tents and camping equipment, personal servants, messing arrangements, stores, petrol supplies, etc."[763] The costs were very affordable compared to the luxury safaris of the pre-1914 period. The fees were £30 for each person in a party of three, or £45 each for a party of two, including

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[759] *Travel in East Africa: Cook's Handbook for Kenya Colony, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1936), p. 21.
[760] Ibid, pp. 26-29.
[761] Ibid, pp. 36-37.
[762] Ibid, p. 45.
[763] Ibid, p. 45.

the costs of two to three automobiles, motor fuel, and six to nine servants. These were exceptionally affordable hunting safaris for the time, but offered less to the serious hunter than one of the dedicated outfitters run by an experienced professional hunter who commanded a salary of £150 or £200 a month. On Cook's recommendation, most visitors came by way of Mombasa and Nairobi, either by rail, motorcar, or Imperial Airways (from Nairobi to Moshi). Only one option took the tourist to Arusha via the Port of Tanga. Such quick, affordable tours as those offered by Thomas Cook made it ever easier for tourists of all varieties, middle class as well as the rich, to enjoy a safari and see East Africa's unique wildlife attractions for a fraction of the cost of even the most affordable caravan expedition mounted before 1914. The motorcar and the camera had revolutionized the industry.

If Thomas Cook provided affordable, inclusive tours to middle-class tourists who traveled the region by train and automobile, the other part of the equation involved the provision of adequate hotels for casual travelers. A typical safari, in other words, spent most of its time in the field, camping in tents far from civilization, but a package tour required hotel accommodations all along its routes, especially in the main centers of population from which Cook excursions departed. Since the turn of the century, the inflow of settlers and sportsmen had precipitated the establishment of numerous hotels kept up to "Western standards" and this process continued in the interwar years. The famous old settler hotels still ruled the day and tended to attract a disproportionate share of visitors, partly on account of their fame and partly because they catered to the higher classes of guests. "Everything appears to be in a state of transition and improvement in Kenya's capital city," Allister Macmillan wrote in a 1930 guidebook, "which is becoming more and more one of the world's fashionable centres, and

where one may meet the most interesting people."[764] Among the upper classes, the charming Norfolk in particular had become almost synonymous with an experience in Nairobi:

> Nairobi is remembered by men in almost every quarter of the globe… who love to recall the times of pleasure, rest, and comfort they had at the old Norfolk Hotel, which is so pleasantly and quietly situated, only ten minutes' walk from the centre of town, and yet away from its bustling, noisy activity and dust. The Norfolk Hotel is unique in its reminiscences of gallant officers, Royalties, such as the Duke of Connaught and Prince Arthur, and numerous distinguished people, including the late President Roosevelt, who have accomplished things worth while, and who live in the world's affectionate memory.[765]

The Norfolk had been founded in 1904 by Major Charles Ringer and purchased in 1923 by W.H.E. Edgley, who had managed it since 1913. The hotel had strived to maintain its quaint atmosphere, even going so far to "antiquate" the appearance of the hotel "in accordance with the expressed wishes of so many of the old Norfolk clients."[766] The Norfolk grounds covered three acres and contained spacious gardens and tennis courts, but the hotel itself remained a smaller two-story structure with bungalow residences and apartments. It also contained special public reception rooms, a smoking and billiard room with a bar, and even a special laundry facility, then a unique amenity in Kenya. For "hotel visitors who possess the necessary qualifications and licenses for a little shooting," Edgley and a partner, H.B. Dunman, owned a large game farm about 26 miles from Nairobi, called "Two Buttons Ranch," which covered about 16 square miles on the Athi Plains and provided a "comparatively inexpensive attraction" for guests.[767]

The Norfolk was equaled in fame only by the New Stanley. "There is probably no other colony in the British Empire where a hotel has been more intimately associated with the

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[764] Allister Macmillan, *Eastern Africa and Rhodesia: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures, and Resources* (Collingridge, 1930), p. 133.
[765] Ibid, p. 133.
[766] Ibid, p. 134.
[767] Ibid, p. 134.

communal welfare and development than has the New Stanley of Nairobi with the modern history and progress of Kenya," Allister Macmillan wrote in his 1930 guidebook.[768] The New Stanley had been constructed before the war, but extensive new additions and improvements were added in the interwar years, bringing its capacity to about 100 bedrooms by 1930. It boasted a large dining room where royalty and celebrities were entertained, an electric Uno coffee roaster, tea and coffee urns, refrigerating and ice-making plants, its own bakery and confectionary, excellent cuisine of all varieties, and an experienced staff, all under the management of Albert Ernest Waterman, who had made the hotel a success during the war when it was used as a base of operations by the government.

Illustration 39: The New Stanley Hotel in Nairobi, prior to a large expansion undertaken after 1958.[769]

[768] Ibid, p. 127.
[769] Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Many other hotels began to cater more and more to visitors and travelers rather than to local residents. The old Palace Hotel on Kilindini Road in Mombasa boasted by 1930 "breezy spaciousness," electric lights, call bells, "fine bathrooms with hot and cold running water and modern lavatories," and "scrupulous cleanliness everywhere."[770] The Manor Hotel in Mombasa, started by Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Webber in 1914, had been transformed into a spacious 50-room modern hotel that offered the full range of amenities and a charming atmosphere, "more like a select private club than a hotel."[771] In Nairobi, a 100-foot structure known as the Hotel Avenue was erected between 1927 and 1929 by James Walker, an enterprising Scotsman who had developed a successful business in Hong Kong. The Hotel Avenue's great height, white frontage, red roof, and verandahs around two sides made it an imposing structure that caught the eye. It contained teak floors and paneling throughout, and many modern rooms for its guests.[772] Torr's Hotel, built by Ewart Grogan, an early settler, stood in the center of the business district and had 64 rooms. In addition to a beautiful exterior and attractive gardens, the hotel was fully modernized by 1930 and even contained electric elevators. Its spacious dining room served meals cooked by the best French and Swiss chefs, and it had its own bakery, confectionary, refrigerating, and aerated-water plants.[773] By the early 1930s it was regarded as the new "in" place in Nairobi.[774]

These are only several examples of a large variety of hotels that existed in Kenya during the 1920s and 1930s, some old concerns long established, others new ventures that rapidly made a name. Virtually every town in the "white highlands" contained a suitable hotel or two, usually run by Europeans who catered to fellow settlers as well as sportsmen and tourists. As

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[770] Ibid, pp. 90-91.
[771] Ibid, p. 94.
[772] Ibid, p. 144.
[773] Ibid, p. 147-48.
[774] Ulf Aschan, *The Man Whom Women Loved: The Life of Bror Blixen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 136.

Kenya's tourism industry expanded and came to rely more on casual tours rather than on hunting safaris, hotel accommodation around the country assumed ever greater importance.

* * *

Some new hotels in interwar Kenya outfitted safaris from their own facilities and provided their own equipment and provisions for safari travel. The most noteworthy new entrant of this kind was the Outspan Hotel, established in 1928 by Eric Sherbrooke Walker and Lady Bettie Walker, daughter of the Earl of Denbigh.[775] Eric Walker had served as the first Scout Commissioner and private secretary of Lord Baden-Powell until 1914, and then joined the Royal Flying Corps during the war. He became a bootlegger in the United States during the 1920s, publishing *The Confessions of a Rum-Runner* under the pseudonym James Barbican.[776] In 1926 the Walkers began searching in Uganda and western Kenya for an area in which to build a hotel. The Walkers dismissed Uganda because of its climate and eventually selected a location near the small township of Nyeri, 5,800 feet above sea level, in a valley forty miles wide between Mount Kenya and the Aberdare Mountains.

The Walkers constructed ten rooms by the time the hotel opened to the public on New Year's Day 1928. They offered a bottle of champagne to the person who submitted the best name for the new hotel. The winner of this "Battle of the Bubbly" was the Walker's neighbor, Grace Barry, who described the hotel in her winning entry as the place "where at the end of the day's journey, the traveller *outspans* the weary oxen."[777] The Outspan went into competition with another famous hotel in Nyeri, the aging White Rhino, built by Lord Cranworth, Berkeley Cole, and Sandy Herd in 1910. The Outspan aimed to attract "those tourists hardy enough to face the hundred odd miles of earth roads" by greeting them with modern conveniences that

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[775] Jan Hemsing, *Treetops Outspan Paxtu* (Church, Raitt & Associates, 1974), p. 1.
[776] James Barbican [Eric Sherbrooke Walker], *The Confessions of a Rum-Runner* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1928).
[777] Eric Sherbrooke Walker, *Treetops Hotel* (London: Robert Hale, 1961), p. 25.

were then quite novel in the backcountry of Kenya, including private bathrooms and running water.[778] In addition to beautiful scenery, a wonderfully pleasant climate, and a green landscape that received approximately 36 inches of rain per year, the area offered excellent fishing for the sportsman in search of trout, which had been introduced to the Aberdares by Ewart Grogan. Needless to say, the valley abounded with wild animals, including elephant and rhino, which gathered at watering holes in the meadows on the edge of the Aberdare Forests near the Outspan Hotel. When Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scouting movement, visited the Outspan, he was captivated and decided to spend his final days there in a small cottage known as Paxtu, of which he famously wrote: "The nearer to Nyeri, the nearer to bliss…. I am coming to spend the rest of my life at the Outspan."[779] An advertising pamphlet described the setting in circa 1930:

> The Hotel stands away from the main road, on a site chosen entirely for its wonderful views of rivers, mountains, plains and forest, with the snow-clad crest of Mount Kenya on the horizon. It is not a pretentious building, but is spotlessly clean, with attentive servants and simple, but well-cooked meals; there is electric light, a refrigerator, and large bathrooms with hot and cold water laid on. The bedrooms, each with its own verandah, open on to a garden full of flowers, and face the view of Mount Kenya. Although Nyeri is only about twenty miles from the equator, the climate is fresh and cool, and there are neither mosquitos nor malaria. Adjoining the hotel grounds of seventy acres there is a sporting little nine-hole golf course; there is a hard tennis court, trout fishing, ponies to ride, duck and partridge shooting, and other sport.[780]

The inclusive rate at the Outspan (including breakfast, lunch, and dinner) was 19 shillings a day (114 a week) for a single or double room, or 25 shillings a day (150 a week) for a room with a large private bathroom.

This rare pamphlet, produced by the Outspan Hotel around 1930, offers a detailed view of the safari services it offered, and can in fact be taken as representative of the better class of

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[778] Jan Hemsing, *Treetops Outspan Paxtu* (Church, Raitt & Associates, 1974), pp. 3-4.
[779] Ibid, p. 5.
[780] *Big Game and Holidays in East Africa* (Nyeri, Kenya: Outspan Hotel, n.d. [circa 1930]), pp. 18-19.

safari outfitters.[781] Beyond this, however, the Outspan was unique as a safari outfitter because it was, first and foremost, a hotel that offered all modern conveniences to its guests, but it used the hotel as a base from which to launch safari excursions of many different varieties. In this sense the Outspan was a forerunner of the safari lodge that now dominates wildlife tourism in Africa. The Outspan pamphlet, lavishly illustrated with photographs by Martin Johnson, announced to potential visitors that "steamship, railway, motor and flying travel have so much improved the last few years that visitors can get quickly and comfortably from Europe to the heart of Africa."[782] The Outspan Hotel functioned as the headquarters of a much larger "Outspan Organisation," which made "complete arrangements for those who wish to shoot, photograph, or observe wild game, or make scientific expeditions into unexplored parts of Africa." In addition to outfitting large safaris, the Outspan "specializes in arranging short safaris for officers of the Indian army, and others whose limited time (and perhaps purse) makes longer safaris impossible."[783]

All of these safaris, from the very cheapest to the most expensive, could be accompanied by an experienced "white hunter" who drew a salary of between £100 and £200 a month depending on experience and client demand. "The Outspan is in touch with every white hunter in East Africa," the pamphlet claimed, "and makes all arrangements with them on behalf of those who are coming out to shoot" – a statement that attests to the freelance nature of the professional hunting business. For those with some experience of big game who wanted

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[781] Ibid. The pamphlet is undated, but several clues confirm that it was published around 1930. First, it was obviously printed after 1928, when the Outspan was established. Second, on page 15, a sub-section on air services notes that "Imperial Airways expect to begin their air service in the spring of 1931," indicating that the pamphlet was printed before that date. Finally, it makes no mention of the popular Treetops Hotel, established by Walker in 1932. We therefore know that this pamphlet was printed sometime between 1928 and early 1931, probably closer to the latter. The claim regarding the pamphlet's rarity is based on the fact that only two copies exist worldwide according to the OCLC WorldCat, both held by the University of California system.

[782] Ibid, p. 1.

[783] Ibid, p. 2.

to run their own safaris, the Outspan offered to put them in touch with "settlers or farmers who are willing to act as guides (not hunters) for half the above fees."[784] Ladies who accompanied the party and did not wish to be left alone in camp, the pamphlet suggested patronizingly, could either make headquarters at the hotel, or accompany the party into the field. The Outspan recommended that visitors bring the essential equipment, but not too much, for almost anything needed could be obtained in Kenya for less expense than it would cost to import it from overseas.

The Outspan recommended that a "usual safari of a white hunter and two or three guns" needed two 1.5-ton lorries and one or two light cars. The Outspan maintained these automobiles with its own motor garage and mechanics, and kept many spares and tools on hand to complete repairs without any unnecessary delay.[785] Clients could either buy outright or hire a car during their safari. Buying automobiles cost £220 for a 1.5-ton truck and £190 for a box-body car, plus about £25 each for running expenses, including spares, equipment, and driver.[786] At the end of a safari of approximately 3,000 miles, an automobile could usually be sold for about half its original cost. For those who wished to hire a car, the Outspan Garage leased 1.5-ton trucks and passenger cars, fully equipped, with drivers and fuel supplied, for a cost of 50 shillings a day (£2.50), plus 2 shillings extra for every mile over 25 miles that day.[787] In general, the Outspan had found that it was more economical for the client to buy automobiles for long safaris and to hire for short ones.

Equipment and stores likewise could be either bought outright at the going rate in Nairobi, or supplied by contract at an inclusive cost, based on the instructions and requirements of the client's party. If purchased, the Outspan would make lists of the equipment and then

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[784] Ibid, p. 2.
[785] Ibid, p. 4.
[786] Ibid, p. 5.
[787] Ibid, p. 5.

order, check, weigh, load, transport, and deliver all the goods to wherever the party requested, including to the Outspan in Nyeri. Everything purchased under this arrangement belonged to the buyer and could be sold at the end of the safari for the best price obtainable. Alternatively, the Outspan could outfit the client's safari at an inclusive price for the whole expedition, which was usually more economical for longer safaris of two or three months because the client could, in effect, "lease" from the outfitter equipment that could rarely be resold for a remunerative price. This "outfitting by contract" included white hunters, gun-bearers, skinners, African guides, cooks, personal servants, porters, complete camp equipment, stores, provisions, and other incidentals. The cost was £300 a month for one client, £450 for two clients (£225 each), and £600 for three clients (£200 each). Longer times afield brought discounts of 20% less for the second month, and 40% less for the third month. Finally, the Outspan could dry, salt, pack, label, and ship all trophies from Nyeri to Mombasa and thence to the client's home, the cost depending heavily on the amount of trophies to be handled.[788]

The Outspan made it clear, as all safari firms did, that "it is difficult to give an exact estimate of the [total] cost [of a safari]… owing to the widely varying conditions under which people go out shooting."[789] As we have already seen in earlier chapters, the costs depended greatly on the number of clients and their guests, the length of the safari, the date of arrival, the kinds of game desired, what areas of the region the client wished to visit, whether one or two (or more) white hunters were to be engaged, and finally whether the outfitting and transport would be arranged by purchase or on a contract basis. In general, though, for a "comfortably outfitted safari" for two people for two months, the Outspan estimated the expenses to be as follows:

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[788] Ibid, pp. 6-7.
[789] Ibid, p. 7.

Equipment, provisions, servants, on contract basis	£810
Two full Visitor's Licenses for Kenya	£200
White hunter for each client, median rate of £150 each	£300
Transport, say two 1.5-ton lorries, 800 miles each, and one box-body car, 1,200 miles	£280
Total	**£1,590**

Table 10: Approximate Costs of a Two-Month Hunting Safari for Two People, Outfitted by the Outspan Hotel, c. 1930.

Not all safaris reached this level of expense, of course, and the Outspan, like other safari firms, made ample provision for short and affordable trips, which became much more common following the advent of the automobile. The Outspan's "short shooting safari" was designed for people who did not mind "roughing it," and particularly for those, like "officers of the Indian Army," who had experience in the field and did not require luxury. The principal source of savings resulted from cutting transport, equipment, and servants to a minimum, so that everything could be carried on one lorry. Native employees would consist only of one cook, one personal servant, one skinner, and one gun-bearer.[790] On such terms, a three-week safari for two people, outfitted by the Outspan, would cost approximately as follows:

Equipment, provisions, servants, etc.	£275
Two Visitor's Temporary Licenses for Tanganyika	£20
White hunter for each client [at lower end of the scale]	£100
Lorry hire, say 800 miles	£80
Total	**£475**

Table 11: Approximate Costs of a Three-Week Hunting Safari for Two People with the Outspan Hotel, c. 1930.

The Outspan likewise offered a "short camping safari" of two weeks for those who wish to "photograph, cinematograph, or observe game, without shooting."[791] Camps would be

[790] Ibid, p. 8.
[791] Ibid, p. 10.

pitched in picturesque spots near rivers and streams, and moved two or three times during the course of a fortnight. During these two weeks, the Outspan estimated that about twenty-five major species should be seen. White hunters would accompany the safari (there was no option to cut this expense) to "protect the camp, provide meat, and show the haunts of the game."[792] The costs of a short camping safari for three people and a white hunter for a fortnight are as follows, with each additional visitor costing an additional £50 for two weeks.

Equipment, provisions, servants, etc.	£225
Guide or white hunter	£50
Transport, say one truck, 400 miles, one car 800 miles	£120
Total	**£395**

Table 12: Approximate Costs of a Two-Week Camping Safari with the Outspan Hotel, c. 1930.

The Outspan offered various other safari and tourism services at this time. For those in search of the unique – one might even say the exotic – the Outspan offered a hunting safari by camel to the undeveloped, little-traveled, desert-like regions of the Northern Frontier Province, near the border of Abyssinia, Somaliland, and the Sudan, where automobiles could not easily go. The supply of camels, however, was "limited," and such trips were accordingly unusual.[793] The quoted cost was also fairly high at approximately £1,510 for two people for two months, roughly the same as a motorized safari in Kenya that could cover more ground and find game much faster. Camels could also be used on short camping safaris for about the same cost as a normal camping safari. For the adventurous and athletic, the Outspan outfitted ascents of Mount Kenya, the summit of which, at 17,057 feet, could only be reached by experienced mountaineers with ropes and ice axes. The Outspan would outfit this one-week

[792] Ibid, p. 10.
[793] Ibid, p. 9.

expedition with camping equipment, porters, provisions, pack animals, servants, and transport to the base of the mountain for roughly £60 for one person and £20 for each additional person in the party.[794] Other tourism options offered by the Outspan included trout fishing, bird shooting (partridge, duck, guinea fowl, spur fowl, pigeon, and others), airplane flights around Mount Kenya and the region that departed from Nyeri's own aerodrome, and motoring trips for those who desired to see the country from comfortable cars (only £5 each per day for three passengers).[795]

For all tourist excursions of any kind, the Outspan offered an array of services to ease the traveler's way and provide for the finest possible experience. The Outspan omnibus met "every train" (!) at the station in Nyeri to collect passengers, or, if notified beforehand, could send a bus or car all the way to the Nairobi station and drive the visitors back over the 97 miles of scenic country between Nairobi and the hotel for a cost of 291 shillings (£14.55).[796] When it came to settling up accounts for the various services rendered, the Outspan had clients establish a special account under their name at the Standard Bank of South Africa in Nairobi. The Outspan drew on this account for all disbursements made by the safari party, while the client could find waiting for them either cash in the bank or a corresponding value of goods with receipts. The hotel withdrew many fees and deposits ahead of the safari to retain the services of a white hunter and native staff, and to purchase supplies.[797] Such fees enabled the Outspan, if the client desired, to dispatch the safari ahead of the arrival of the client, so that the tourist would find his camp already pitched and ready upon his arrival in the country. If the safari was canceled for any reason, the bank could return all advance payments so long as

[794] Ibid, pp. 11-12.
[795] Ibid, pp. 13-14.
[796] Ibid, p. 18.
[797] Ibid, p. 21.

sufficient notice was given. By 1930, then, the Outspan offered a fully modernized range of services for the tourist and catered to almost every variety of safari experience.

Later, after 1932, the Outspan became a jumping off point for the famous Treetops Hotel, also built by Walker with the help of Captain Alfred Sheldrick, a retired Indian cavalry officer who owned a coffee plantation at Mweiga on the edge of the Aberdare Forests.[798] The Treetops started out as a two-room bungalow in a giant fig tree 35 feet above the ground that offered an ideal platform for observing animals foraging below. It was initially designed as a special adjunct to the Outspan Hotel that could accommodate only two guests plus their hosts. Along the route through the forest to Treetops, Walker constructed rustic ladders up small trees so that, if elephants or rhino were present, guests could escape up a tree until the danger passed. It all made for a thrilling experience for Walker's guests and quickly became well known. Later, in 1952, Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, chose to spend a portion of their trip to Kenya in the Treetops Hotel, cementing its fame when the princess learned the news during this visit that she had acceded to the throne of the United Kingdom following the death of her father. Jim Corbett, the famous hunter who worked as a resident guide at the Outspan at the time, wrote of this occasion in the logbook of the Treetops: "For the first time in the history of the world, a young girl climbed into a tree one day a Princess, and after having what she described as her most thrilling experience she climbed down from the tree the next day a Queen – God bless her."[799] The Treetops, owing to this fame and its charming setting, was expanded many times over the years (including once after being burned down during the Mau Mau Uprising) and today stands as a vast hotel and a leading tourist attraction in Kenya – now built on stilts *among* rather than *in* the trees.

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[798] Eric Sherbrooke Walker, *Treetops Hotel* (London: Robert Hale, 1961), p. 10.

[799] R.J. Prickett, *Treetops: Story of a World Famous Hotel* (London: David & Charles, 1987), p. 95. Although it is true that Elizabeth *became* queen in Treetops, she learned the news after the royal party arrived at Sagana Royal Lodge.

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The firms described above became the largest in interwar Kenya, but they were not the only safari outfitters that existed during this period. Indeed, a very important change had occurred in the dynamics of the safari industry. By simplifying the logistics of safari transport and lowering the barriers to entry, the automobile enabled individual professional hunters to outfit safaris on their own with a relatively high degree of success. This dynamic led individual professional hunters to form new safari companies in the twenties and thirties that remained small but became well known and successful. This is not to say that all professionals *could* form their own companies or even had the inclination. Most found it easier to rely upon a large outfitter like Safariland to handle the booking and outfitting while they simply organized the details of the safari and guided the client in the field. As G.H. Anderson wrote of the profession: "The White Hunters in Eastern Africa are mostly settlers who own farms, as it is by no means an all-time job, and it is very exceptional for a professional hunter to be employed on safari work for more than seven to eight months in the year."[800]

Yet new opportunities existed for professional hunters with special business acumen or the ability to build a large clientele on the basis of their fame. The potential for reputable professional hunters to enter the business for themselves resulted largely from the nature of the safari trade. The industry continued to be driven by the personalities and reputations of individual professional hunters. When outfitters like Safariland and the Outspan claimed to be in touch with all of the region's white hunters, it was because most professional hunters in the interwar years worked as freelance guides. They rarely bound themselves to a single company, instead placing their names on the books of several respectable outfitters and taking work under contract whenever an outfitter required their services. It could hardly be otherwise in a business

[800] G.H. Anderson, *African Safaris,* Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), p. 157.

where the white hunter was directly responsible for so many different aspects of the client's experience. In a sense, the safari company acted merely as a booking agency, supplier of equipment, and organizer of African labor. For everything else, the professional hunter dominated the arrangements. He worked out the details of the trip through correspondence with the client; he selected the camps and shaped the itinerary; he chose a large part of the African staff; he developed rapport with the visitors by possessing charm and patience in abundance; and in general he determined the safari's success.

A key part of the job, moreover, was that professional hunters had to be companions and world-class hosts as well as expert organizers. They were usually men of modest backgrounds (occasionally "impoverished" aristocrats) who guided, protected, and entertained the kings, princes, maharajahs, aristocrats, plutocrats, and Hollywood celebrities that stood at the apex of Western society. Unlike other hosts and entertainers, however, professional hunters were often treated as social equals (and sometimes were). Much of their time on safari was spent round the campfire swapping stories, drinking, and joshing with the clients. It was a world of colorful personalities and famous personages, flattery and backslapping – a good 'old boys' club that was deeply masculine and highly exclusive, at least at the higher levels. The safari guides who learned to thrive in this culture had gained an access key that was therefore both social and professional. It was not easy to transpose their highly personalized set of skills and characteristics onto others who possessed different personalities, social backgrounds, skills, interests, and experiences. Professional hunters were irreplaceable as *labor* because much of the client's experience depended upon the *personal* relationships they developed with their white hunters.

For these reasons, professional hunters often became celebrities in their own right and were frequently requested by name. The more fame a professional hunter acquired, the more likely he could achieve success by forming a safari company of his own. If the names of

professional hunters were mentioned favorably in a client's book, if they guided a distinguished person (like the Prince of Wales or Ernest Hemingway), or if they achieved any other noteworthy success, the demand for their services far outstripped the time they had at their disposal. Their fees usually rose accordingly.[801] Many professional hunters became the subject of more than a few breathless tributes in the memoirs of admiring clients and friends. They inspired characters in the books and films of Hemingway and Hollywood. They wrote memoirs themselves, published by leading presses in London and New York. Bror von Blixen and Denys Finch Hatton both had biographies written about them (two in Finch Hatton's case), despite dying prematurely and spending most of their lives doing little besides guiding hunts.[802]

Two noteworthy examples of safari firms whose success relied almost wholly on the reputations of the men who ran them were African Guides, Ltd., based in Nairobi, and Tanganyika Guides, Ltd., based in Arusha. The two firms were established in the late 1920s as a partnership between Philip Percival and Bror von Blixen, both of whom had spent most of the 1920s guiding hunts for Safariland. Jeff Manley managed the business side of the partnership. According to their arrangement, Percival ran African Guides while Blixen ran Tanganyika Guides. Manley met all clients in Nairobi, where he wined, dined, and measured them up for safari before their departure to Arusha or the backcountry of Kenya.[803] And yet the business was far from easy for individual hunters who went out on their own. "We discovered," Percival wrote, "that the problems attached to the running of a safari company

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[801] Hemingway's biographer, Jeffrey Meyers, writes in a chapter on Hemingway's 1933-34 safari that Percival "charged a thousand dollars a month." This figure is probably accurate and drawn from somewhere in Hemingway's private papers, but it probably refers to the second safari Hemingway took with Percival in the 1950s, for this salary would have been tremendous even for Percival in the worst years of the Depression. See Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985), p. 261.

[802] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1985); Sara Wheeler, *Too Close to the Sun: The Audacious Life and Times of Denys Finch Hatton* (New York: Random House, 2007).

[803] Ulf Aschan, *The Man Whom Women Loved: The Life of Bror Blixen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 132.

were many, various, and unexpected, especially when one had to deal with clients who demanded all the amenities that could be bought with their plentiful money, but which would not normally form part of a safari organizer's plans."[804] For one female American client, the hostess of a large and luxurious party, they had to dispatch aircraft around the country to bring her a fresh wig for the week and collect the old one to be "dolled up" again at the hairdressers. Another client requested the dispatch of a joint of beef so that he could enjoy the roast beef of Old England for his Sunday luncheon, despite the fact that the surrounding countryside swarmed with game of every kind.[805]

African Guides and Tanganyika Guides offered terms similar to Safariland and other outfitters, but they often got the pick of clients owing to the reputations of Percival and Blixen as the leading hunters in East Africa. Both men had become quite famous by the late 1920s. Percival, born in Somerset, England in 1884, had migrated to British East Africa in 1904 to seek his fortune on the advice of his elder brother, Blayney, who became well known as the Chief Game Warden after the First World War. The younger Percival arrived with "very little capital and no experience," but soon befriended the Hill cousins, who had come from South Africa to farm ostriches for the valuable feathers they provided for the women's hats then in fashion.[806] Clifford and Harold Hill were "natural born hunters," Percival wrote, who introduced him to the secrets of African hunting. "Before the Hills finished with me," Percival recalled, "I was pretty well schooled and ready to start off on my own."[807] Over the next few years, Percival and the Hill cousins began offering lion hunts to "disappointed sportsmen" who had completed a full safari without bagging the lion they desired. Percival and the Hills

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[804] Philip H. Percival, *Hunting, Settling, and Remembering* (Reprint: Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1997), p. 125.
[805] Ibid, p. 125.
[806] Ibid, p. 5.
[807] Ibid, p. 9.

charged £10 to cover the costs of a wagon and team, the services of the three guides, and their mounts. If they got a lion for the client, they charged £25 instead of the basic £10.[808] Their successes became so well known that when Theodore Roosevelt wanted a lion, Percival and the Hill cousins were called in as specialists and duly got the ex-president his lion – a source of fame for the remainder of Percival's career.

"It was the arrival of the Roosevelt safari in 1909 that decided my future for me," Percival recalled.[809] As a result of this success with Roosevelt, "the agents became interested, and urged the Hills and myself to take up this kind of hunting professionally," which he very soon did for Newland and Tarlton.[810] Percival started with a salary of £40 a month but, after the War, "a more or less continuous stream of Americans became a mighty flood in the safari world, and prices began to rise and the salaries of White Hunters reached a figure of £200 to £250 a month, or even more."[811] This work was extremely welcome throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Percival remarked, for it "filled the gaps in meeting our farm overhead and our increasing private expenses, money which I personally would have found great difficulty in raising any other way."[812] Percival described his safari work as a "full time professional job." During the interwar years he spent about eight months a year with clients, averaging three or four safaris in that time. Only in the rainy seasons did he have time to return to his farm. "There was none of this 'smash and grab' stuff in those days; people took their time and most safaris lasted about two and a half months."[813] As his fame grew, Percival was able to charge as much as £1,000 per month for his services, according to Hemingway's biographer.[814]

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[808] Ibid, p. 35.
[809] Ibid, p. 29.
[810] Ibid, pp. 34-35.
[811] Ibid, p. 37.
[812] Ibid, p. 37.
[813] Ibid, p. 76.
[814] Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985 and 1999; originally published by Harper & Row), p. 261. The figure is questionable but not impossible, and was probably

By the 1930s, Percival's name was consistently mentioned as one of a handful of the most sought after professional hunters in Kenya. Many regarded him as the best in Kenya, not quite as famous perhaps as Alan Black or Denys Finch Hatton (of whom more later), but probably the best at combining the skills of the hunter with the charm of the guide. In 1934, when the East African Professional Hunters' Association was formed, Percival was chosen as the first president and served in that capacity for 25 years, longer than any other person. He became widely known as the "dean of the white hunters." Percival guided Ernest Hemingway on multiple safaris and became an inspiration for several of Hemingway's characters in the books and short stories he wrote about African safaris. In 1954, when Percival was seventy years old, Hemingway described the seasoned hunter as the "the finest man that I know" and "also more fun to be with than anyone I know from any war or any peace" – high praise indeed for a fast-living writer who had known many interesting characters.[815] Percival was frequently invited to visit his clients overseas, including Hemingway in Cuba. Denis Zaphiro, who accompanied Hemingway on safari in the 1950s, wrote that Percival was "perhaps the greatest hunter living when I first met him in 1950. Out past his prime. Lovely sense of humour. Head of the Professional Hunters' Association for many years. Unspoiled reputation. Always chosen when the best hunter was needed. Father to us all."[816]

Baron Bror von Blixen, "Blix" as his friends called him, was equally famous, though perhaps known less for his moral probity than for his charm. Today he is mostly known to history as the husband of Karen Blixen, who wrote *Out of Africa* (1937) under the pseudonym Isak Dinesen, probably the most famous book ever written about Kenya. Blixen, a Danish

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Percival's rate in the 1950s. Although Meyers does not cite the source of this figure or specify the period of time, it appears that he got it from a letter sent by Denis Zaphiro, who hunted with Percival and Hemingway in the 1950s. It probably refers to the 1953-54 safari, but is impressive nevertheless.

[815] Ernest Hemingway, "Safari," *Look,* Volume 18, Number 2 (January 26, 1954), p. 30.

[816] Meyers, p. 262.

aristocrat, began hunting professionally in 1922 and by the following year had "made a name for himself as a white hunter," according to Ulf Aschan, his biographer.[817] "His attraction," Aschan writes, "lay in the delightful smile that lit up his whole face, leaving his companion feeling warmed and responsive. Naturally good manners were only part of his charm. He was always in a good mood. He made people laugh – young, old, natives – everyone."[818] He had a way with women. Blixen moved easily among aristocrats and wealthy clients and held a fair claim as a Danish baron of being their social equal, despite his own personal indebtedness. Over the years Blixen guided many distinguished clients. In 1930, he was one of the guides chosen to accompany the Prince of Wales during his second safari in Kenya. He later guided Alfred Vanderbilt. On a separate safari, Blixen and Percival guided George Vanderbilt, Alfred's brother, along with Sosthenes de la Rochefaucauld and a large group from the Philadelphia Museum, reputedly one of the most expensive safaris ever outfitted.[819] Like Percival, Blixen was so well liked by his clients that he was often invited to visit their homes, and wined and dined at the client's expense, including once at Palm Beach with Ernest Hemingway.[820]

One of Blixen's most unlikely clients was a distinguished Oxford historian well known to scholars of Africa and the British Empire. Margery Perham traveled to Kenya in April 1930 and, a few months after her arrival, met Bror Blixen and found him most agreeable. It was not that she was easy to please. Perham described Nairobi as "unpalatable," "disappointing," and "inefficient."[821] After checking in at the famous New Stanley Hotel, she described it as "dirty"

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[817] Ulf Aschan, *The Man Whom Women Loved: The Life of Bror Blixen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), p. 97.
[818] Ibid, p. 97.
[819] Ibid, pp. 149, 187-89.
[820] Ibid, p. 192.
[821] C. Brad Faught, *Into Africa: The Imperial Life of Margery Perham* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p. 62.

and complained that "rowdy groups were always drinking and hanging about the entrance-hall."[822] She had come to Africa to familiarize herself with African politics, and particularly with the dominant question of settler versus native rights, and did not always get along with white settlers who held strident racial views (Blixen was among them). But when Perham met Bror Blixen shortly after her arrival, he invited her to go buffalo hunting and she accepted. "In the end I threw everything to the winds," she wrote. "I am terribly excited tonight."[823] On the hunt in Tanganyika, she took a shot and missed, but found the experience delightful anyway, remarking that she was "absolutely terrified and enjoyed it."[824] When Perham later bid Blixen goodbye, she confided to her diary: "I like him."[825]

It was the job of the professional hunter to charm all types, to measure up their personalities and tastes, and to provide them with the right blend of leisure and excitement. Professional guides like Philip Percival and Bror Blixen who combined such skills with their abilities in the field and their experience organizing safaris quickly rose to the top. Both African Guides and Tanganyika Guides illustrate the extent to which the success of an outfitter could be based upon the fame of individual professional hunters like Philip Percival and Bror von Blixen. With their natural charm and skill in the field, they were able to acquire high reputations in elite social circles that referred friends and acquaintances to the guides, often by word of mouth.

Of course, professional hunters were not the only individuals whose skills and expertise made the safari possible – only the most well documented. For all safari firms and related tourism enterprises, indigenous Kenyans continued to function as the unsung backbone of the industry. Though often unacknowledged and poorly documented in the historical record,

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[822] Ibid, p. 62.
[823] Ibid, p. 63.
[824] Ibid, p. 63.
[825] Ibid, p. 65.

indigenous Kenyans provided the majority of the labor and much of the expertise of a safari at extraordinarily low wages. This effectively subsidized the industry by enabling safari firms to offer a wider range of labor-intensive services without driving their operating expenses too high. During the 1920s and 1930s, as we saw in previous chapters, indigenous safari work had begun to shift somewhat from its pre-war conditions owing to the advent of automobiles and other changes in the nature of safari travel, but Africans continued to provide essential labor even after these changes had occurred.

Safari companies needed, in the first place, a certain number of African staff to become skilled professionals devoted to their particular roles. Gun-bearers, trackers, skinners, and cooks, in particular, were trained for their professions over many years and often spent a lifetime in the same line of work, becoming trusted and known among safari companies. The best African staff were always in high demand. When it came to transport, porters gradually gave way to drivers, mechanics, and camp attendants, less numerous and less conspicuous to the tourist than porters, perhaps, but equally important in the work they did to ensure that transport went smoothly. An increasing number of Africans worked out of sight of the client, preparing camp, skinning game, and driving trophies back to Nairobi, but this did not reduce their importance. Safari companies increasingly recognized their reliance upon African employees. When Safariland issued its advertising pamphlet in 1928, it billed its "native staff" as a crucial advantage enjoyed by the company that enhanced the tourist's experience:

> The success of a safari depends largely upon the efficiency of the natives. A good headman, to ensure smooth running and a contented camp, gunbearers who will not run away in the face of danger, tent boys to wait at table and also generally act as valets, a trained cook, skilled skinners to see that trophies are properly treated and porters to pitch tents, etc., are all essential to an enjoyable trip. The local natives know and trust us, and the result is that we get the pick for our safaris and on this count alone occupy a unique position.[826]

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[826] *Big Game Hunting in Kenya Colony & Tanganyika Territory: As Arranged by Safariland Limited* (Nairobi, n.d., c. 1928), p. 8. KNA: MSS/115/43/29.

Illustration 40: Abdi, the Somali headman employed by John McCutcheon's safari in 1910.[827]

Indeed, it became increasingly common for professional hunters and clients to pen tributes to their African staff when they wrote memoirs about their African hunts. Gun-bearers

[827] Source: John T. McCutcheon, *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in the Big Game Country* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill, 1910).

in particular were usually singled out for special praise, for the lives of the guides and clients very frequently depended upon the gun-bearer's courage and skill in the field. Gun-bearers were the top African position and were, in a sense, expected to be jacks-of-all-trades in their own realm of work. Strictly speaking, as tradition entailed, they carried heavy rifles for the clients and professional hunters (hence their name), and kept a loaded firearm at hand for the shooter. Yet, because they accompanied every movement of the hunters in the field, they were also relied upon to protect clients from dangerous animals when necessary. They had to keep guns cleaned and maintained. They also tracked and skinned when called upon. Because they spent all their time in the presence of the client, they became friends with the clients, often the tourist's only lengthy exposure to ordinary Africans. It is doubtful that African assistants were ever treated as equals during this period, but they were vital and therefore valued members of the safari party.

In the field, gun-bearers were always on the lookout for animals. When safari parties traveled to distant locales, gun-bearers could usually be relied upon to communicate with all variety of remote tribesmen who possessed no language but their own. G.H. Anderson was one of several professional hunters who devoted a whole chapter to his gun-bearer, Feragi bin Salem, in his book *African Safaris,* calling him "a great lovable character in his way, and a real man."[828] Trackers, skinners, and others were often acknowledged as well, even if many of the white hunters held racial views of varying degrees of stridency. Anthony Dyer, a professional hunter and president of the EAPHA after the war, wrote many years later, when racial views had perhaps softened: "A safari in Africa without African helpers would be a disaster. It is they who make it all possible. The most enduring memory that visitors take away with them

[828] G.H. Anderson, M.C. *African Safaris*. Foreword by Lord Cranworth (Long Beach, CA: Safari Press, 1946, 1997), Chapter 22: "Feragi: My Gun-Bearer."

from a safari is their memories of the Africans who served them well in so many different capacities."[829]

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There remains the vexed question of how much the safari industry was worth to the Kenyan economy. In Chapter 4, we made some attempt to estimate the value of this industry based on the sale of game licenses to visitors, but new challenges of economic analysis present themselves in the interwar years. Before 1914, the options for different kinds of wildlife tourism were decidedly limited owing to the requirement of using human porters. This held costs up to a certain level, ensured that virtually all safaris would last at least one month, and made the industry relatively uniform in the way it outfitted safaris for its clients. At the same time, the lack of suitable camera technology meant that virtually all tourists who undertook the expense of a safari prior to 1914 would do so out of a desire to hunt. After the First World War, however, with the advent of motorized travel and the addition of the photographic safari, the different kinds and durations of trips taken for wildlife tourism expanded so considerably that even if we knew the actual number of tourists we could not calculate the industry's value with any kind of accuracy.

The best that can be done for the interwar years is to provide several educated estimates made by those closely associated with the industry. The Kenya Game Department usually made the most authoritative assessments. One of its objects throughout the twentieth century was to demonstrate that Kenya's wildlife was an economic asset that earned revenue and was therefore worth preserving for economic as well as aesthetic and scientific reasons. It was easy for the Game Department to show direct revenues from game license fees and the sale of ivory, but indirect revenue from tourism counted, too. Keith Caldwell, the Senior Assistant Game

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[829] Anthony Dyer, *Men for All Seasons: The Hunters and Pioneers* (Agoura, CA: Trophy Room Books, 1996), p. 25.

Warden, wrote in 1929: "It is difficult to give an estimate of the revenue derived from shooting parties but a conservative estimate by those best able to judge puts the annual [commercial] revenue at £100,000."[830]

Some put the figure considerably higher. When the East African Professional Hunters' Association called a meeting in 1937 to discuss the issue of strengthening the game departments (and by extension conservation), its senior members offered their best assessments of the value of the industry. A.J. Klein stated that, on his calculation, "from £1,000 to £4,000 was spent by each hunting party coming into the Colony."[831] Safariland, the biggest outfitting company in the colony, "could show that in one year parties coming out to them had spent £70,000." When photographic safaris were counted alongside hunting trips, O.M. Rees estimated that "the total amount spent in this way per annum was from £150,000 to £200,000." Many others agreed with this general assessment. Such estimates reflected the approximate value of the high-end safaris conducted by members of the EAPHA; the figures would have been much higher if contemporaries had the ability to measure the large and growing number of visitors who took short, casual, motorized tours for photography or game viewing. The EAPHA addressed a memorandum at the end of the month to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi, explaining the estimated value of the industry and emphasizing the connection between conservation and tourism:

> The members of the Association, both hunters, outfitters, and traders, do not wish to put forward their plea [for wildlife conservation] on the grounds of sentiment, but rather on the grounds of economic facts, which must concern Government and the welfare of the Colony. The Association have ascertained that over a period of years an annual sum of approximately £150,000 is attracted to the Colony which is spent by people brought primarily and entirely for the purpose of hunting and photographing game. The Association feel that this fact alone should influence Government to strengthen their Game Department as our members are convinced that, should this not

[830] Keith Caldwell to Ag. Colonial Secretary, 23 January 1929. KNA: KW/27/4.
[831] Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the EAPHA, 19 April 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.

> be done, it will only be a short time before this invaluable asset is materially decreased and ultimately reduced to a negligible figure. As Government derive considerable revenue from licenses to hunt and photograph game, it is apparent that it must be to their interest to devote more funds to the preservation of that asset from which the return accrues.[832]

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In this statement, prepared by leaders of the safari industry, we glimpse a dynamic that would increasingly occupy both official and commercial attitudes concerning the future of tourism in Kenya. It was increasingly realized that the future economic vitality of Kenya's tourism industry depended upon preserving the wildlife from which its returns accrued. Attitudes were shifting congruently with economic realities. The safari tourism industry had, by this time, survived three major crises in the space of a generation: the First World War, the failure of the hunting industry to revive in the 1920s, and the Great Depression of the 1930s. On the face of it, Rees's estimate that the safari industry in the 1930s brought in business worth between £150,000 to £200,000 a year compares roughly to the pre-1914 figures, when the safari trade in its peak years from 1910 to 1914 was worth in the range of £180,000 to £220,000.[833] And yet, in spite of this rough parity, there are indications that a substantial safari trade was emerging that fell below the radar of the high-end companies represented by the EAPHA, consisting of short, informal motorized tours offered by numerous new safari firms, which had proliferated in the interwar years far beyond anything witnessed before 1914.

While some ambiguity must remain, owing to the paucity of reliable economic records, on the question of whether Kenya's safari industry grew in value above the "palmy days" before 1914 (in Lord Cranworth's memorable phrase), it is clear that the industry enjoyed steady commercial growth through the interwar years, a dramatic expansion of the varieties of wildlife tourism offered, and a proliferation of companies with a stake in the business. This

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[832] Minutes of a Meeting of a Sub-Committee of the EAPHA appointed to draft a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary on Game Preservation, 30 April 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[833] See Chapter 4.

had all been achieved without a corresponding increase in the number of hunters, thanks largely to the camera, which provided an alternative to the hunt, and the automobile, which enabled greater number of tourists to make faster, more affordable, and more diverse kinds of excursions. As ever more companies and outfitters clamored to get a share of the action, new varieties of tourism increasingly supplanted the traditional big-game hunt as the principal attractions of Kenya's wild places. It remained only to lay the foundations of policy and solidify the organization of the industry, topics to which we now turn.

Chapter 8: Generating Tourist Publicity: Books, Films, and Celebrity Safaris

In the 1920s and 1930s, as new technologies transformed the safari and outfitters in Kenya strived to expand the services they offered, a number of high-profile celebrity safaris were generating unprecedented publicity for the industry. This kind of publicity had always been an important aspect of Kenya's advantages as a tourist destination. At the very beginning of the century, the region benefited from the mystique of having been the enchanted land across which the great explorers traveled on their way to the source of the Nile. As colonial rule became established and the earliest administrators and sportsmen ventured into this land, first-hand accounts began to flood across the world describing the allures of East Africa. In 1909-10, Theodore Roosevelt generated enormous publicity for the professionally guided luxury hunting safari, causing a spike in the number of visitors that stands out clearly in the game license statistics of British East Africa. The safari industry never witnessed a similar increase of visiting hunters in the interwar years, but awareness of African wildlife and interest in the safari reached unprecedented levels owing largely to the publicity generated by the fame, status, and cultural reach of its most distinguished clients.

This chapter argues that "celebrity" safaris and filmmaking expeditions in the interwar years had several principal effects on the development of Kenya's safari tourism industry. In the first and most immediate sense, the endeavors described in this chapter brought big business to Kenya's safari tourism industry. No one undertaking a safari on any scale got out of Nairobi without a guide and outfitter to handle the logistics. For wealthy individuals like the British royals, George Eastman, and Ernest Hemingway, professional guides and outfitters meant a standard of luxury and ease in the bush that was otherwise impossible to achieve. What is perhaps more striking is how indispensable Kenya's safari companies became to the making of films and the collection of animals specimens for museums. Such large-scale endeavors

stretched to months and even years and required a degree of sustained organizational support that only dedicated, Kenya-based outfitters could provide. The payoff for the safari industry was immense.

The second effect of these celebrity safaris was, of course, to raise publicity for the safari at a time when commercial advertising overseas was cost prohibitive for Kenya-based safari operators. In this way celebrity safaris solidified the advantages that Kenya already enjoyed. Safari companies did not need to advertise their business because wildlife films, books, and even Hollywood motion pictures did it for them. Meanwhile, individual guides won distinction by having their names mentioned in films shown across the West, in books by such eminent clients as the Prince of Wales and Ernest Hemingway, and in newspaper accounts that proliferated across the world. Such free publicity for the safari industry helped to establish Kenya's reputation as a tourist destination, making the safari known widely across the West as a romantic adventure and fashionable holiday adventure. This chapter examines several of the leading safari ventures of the interwar years that helped make Kenya's safari tourism industry the best known and most highly developed in the world.

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For many people throughout the world in the interwar years, an African safari was still synonymous with the unattainable leisure activities of the ultra rich, and there were sound reasons for this impression (safaris routinely cost five to ten times the price of an automobile). Yet this did not diminish *popular* interest in safari excursions by personages the public knew and admired – if anything the opposite. The first really high-profile, widely followed safari after the First World War occurred in 1924, when the Duke and Duchess of York, the future King George VI and "Queen Mother," embarked on a tour of Africa, the crowning event of

which was to be a safari in Kenya. Winston Churchill had suggested the idea of an African trip to the Duchess, who was far from convinced of its merits.[834]

> I am feeling slightly mingled in my feelings about going to Africa [the Duchess wrote], as I hate discomfort, and am so afraid that I shall not like the heat, or that mosquitoes will bite my eyelids & the tip of my nose, or that I shall not be able to have baths often enough, or that I shall hate the people. On the other hand I think it is good for one to go away and see a little LIFE, and then think how pleased I shall be to get home again.[835]

The Duke and Duchess departed on 1 December 1924. They opted to ride the train across Europe to Marseilles and board a ship that landed in Mombasa on 22 December. The royal party was met at Kilindini Harbour with a flag inscribed "Welcome to Kenya," a crowd of "thousands of Africans, Arabs, Somalis, and Indians," and all the pomp and ceremony that surrounded a royal visit to a distant part of the British Empire.[836] This was an "unofficial" visit, but the arrival of royals inevitably entailed tours, receptions, invitations to be entertained by the Kenya Legislature, and interesting (if somewhat artificial) cross-sections of local life, including tribal dances, performances, evenings among settlers at the fashionable Muthaiga Club, and Christmas Day services in African as well as English churches.[837] Certain official duties, such as opening the City Park in Nairobi and meeting British residents at Government House, were prerequisites for the adventure to come.

The royal couple finally established their first camp the day after Christmas. They were guided by G.H. "Andy" Anderson and Pat Ayre, both experienced professional hunters. Their safari party was also joined by Captain C.A. Palmer-Kerrison, the Governor's ADC; Dr. J.L. Gilks, the Principal Medical Officer of Kenya, who served as the safari's doctor; and

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[834] The claim about Churchill's intervention is made by the Queen Mother's biographer. William Shawcross, *The Queen Mother: The Official Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), p. 218.
[835] Ibid, p. 220.
[836] Their arrival in Mombasa is described in "The Royal Visit to East Africa: Mombasa Festivities," *The Times* [London, England], 24 December 1924, p. 9.
[837] "Duke of York's Visit to Kenya," House of Commons Notices, *The Times* [London], 18 February 1925, p. 8.

Captain Keith Caldwell, the Senior Assistant Game Warden of Kenya. The reservations previously expressed by the Duchess vanished as soon as they reached their first camp on the Siolo plain beyond Meru. "The country is quite unlike anything I expected, and it is beautiful… [T]he camp is in the middle of a huge plain exactly like an English Park, and on every side there are mountains… The flowers coming here were too wonderful."[838] The Duchess also loved the climate. "The sun is hot in the morning, but it's quite cool all the time… It is exactly like a warm summer evening at Glamis here – nice & cool & Scotch."[839]

The royal party spent three weeks at this camp. The Duke often went out on short hunting excursions with Anderson while Caldwell and Ayre escorted the Duchess and Lady Annaly, her guest, in the large open Rolls-Royce that Caldwell drove throughout the safari. The Duchess began rising before the sun (not her custom) and took to the safari life very quickly. "I never knew that I could like this sort of life so much – out all day long, and one never even knows the day of the week. I feel it must be good for one. England seems so small & full & petty and unhappy in contrast to Africa." The Duchess did her share of shooting as well, confessing that she "enjoyed it so much, and became very bloodthirsty," except when she shot a rhinoceros, "which nearly broke [her] heart." The party began its return journey to Government House on 4 February, feeling "very sad," according to the Duchess. "I adore safari!" she proclaimed the day after her return.[840]

> I have become mad about shooting and simply adore it. I have been walking twenty miles a day, starting at 5:30 am & getting in at 6 pm, and tiring out tough old hunters in the most extraordinary way!! I cannot understand it unless it is the lust of the chase. I went out every day with Bertie [the Duke], & loved it all… One day I went out the whole day after elephants, and it was the most thrilling & wonderful thing that I've ever done."[841]

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[838] William Shawcross, *The Queen Mother: The Official Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), p. 225.
[839] Ibid, pp. 225-226.
[840] Ibid, pp. 226- 227.
[841] Ibid, p. 237.

If the Duchess was pleasantly surprised to find how much she delighted in safari life, the Duke expected to enjoy it and did. "Never once during this trip have I felt I wanted to be home again," he wrote. "All this is so new & original in what one sees & the life one leads."[842] The Duchess wrote to the Prince of Wales that "you have no idea what it has done for Bertie [the Duke]. He is a different being, quite calm and losing all his nerviness" and in general feeling liberated from the strictures of royal life in England.[843] This was the same man who had to overcome his stammer upon acceding to the throne as King George VI in 1936. At the end of the safari in Kenya, the complete bag of the Duke and Duchess of York in Kenya was fairly modest compared to other hunting safaris of their stature: two lions, two rhinoceros, two buffalo (one each), a leopard, oryx, eland, impala, gerenuk, lesser kudu, steenbok, the Kenya hartebeest, Grant's gazelle, zebra, dik-dik, warthog, and hyena.[844]

The royal party later made its way to Uganda and the Sudan. They rode the Uganda Railway, steamed across Lake Victoria, saw the source of the White Nile at the Ripon Falls, and finally docked in Entebbe on 14 February 1925. After several days of engagements, they began the next leg of their safari, this time traveling to the famous crater lakes at the foot of the Ruwenzori mountains in Uganda, then to lakes Edward and George, and finally to the Semliki valley, near the border of the Belgian Congo.[845] Even for a royal party given every assistance and amenity available in 1925, it is clear that leaving Kenya put them somewhat off the beaten path, away from the good roads and amenities of the conventional tourist track. The Duchess described Uganda as "more tropical" and "softer" than Kenya. "The thick bush," she later wrote in Uganda, "was my idea of Africa & it felt very creepy & sinister."[846] Instead of

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[842] Ibid, 237.
[843] Ibid, p. 227.
[844] "Duke of York's Bag: Successful Hunting Trip," *The Times* [London], 11 February 1925, p. 11.
[845] "The Duke of York's Tour," *The Times* [London], 20 February 1925, p. 13.
[846] William Shawcross, *The Queen Mother: The Official Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), pp. 230, 233.

driving the open-body Rolls-Royce across Kenya's open country, with only intermittent walking, the royal party set off in Uganda at the head of a giant procession of 600 porters. This foot travel was required by the heavy vegetation and rough terrain. The Duchess rode part of the way in a makeshift mono-wheel cart that consisted of a seat and canopy attached to a bicycle wheel.

The Sudan was even worse from a tourist's point of view. Anti-British rebellions then flared intermittently in the territory and kept the royal party's escort on its guard. The Sudan was also much hotter than the high elevations of Kenya and Uganda. The Duchess reported "dripping" for the first time and remarked that mid-day was too hot for any activity, until nightfall, when it became cool and "lovely stars" came out.[847] As in Kenya and Uganda, the Duke continued to go on short shooting excursions while the Duchess stayed at camp, but she did her share of hunting as well. The Sudan leg of the safari finally ended on the 6th of April, when the party departed for Khartoum ("I have never seen a more horrible town," the Duchess commented) en route to Europe. They arrived back in England on the 19th of April.

A month after the safari, the Duke of York attended the Africa Society's dinner in London (a dinner at which Frederick Lugard was honored with the Society's gold medal for his work in Africa). Much of the attention was on the Duke's recent safari. The Duke said that "Africa will always possess for me a special charm," and that "Kenya is a wonderful country with immense possibilities for future development." The skeptic might surmise that this is what a royal was expected to say, and indeed it was. But the Duke added what was almost certainly a sincere sentiment: "[A]s a holiday it was the most delightful that could be conceived…. The shooting part of our visit will always be a treasured memory; it gave us immense pleasure, plenty of exercise, and the pleasant companionship of the white hunters and

[847] Ibid, p. 237.

others sent in charge of our safari. We shall never forget a single day of it."[848] The Duchess wrote much the same in private. "We are all very sad it is all over – it has been marvellous [sic]… I am bubbling inside with Africa." This safari in Africa, she said many years later, was "Wonderful. Best bit of one's life."[849]

Quite apart from enjoying the safari themselves, the very fact of the royal couple visiting Kenya and Uganda on safari resulted in many dozens, perhaps hundreds, of newspaper articles that were read around the world, in the United States no less than in Britain. The effect on tourism is harder to measure, but the Kenya Game Department, the body best placed to measure the publicity value of the royal safari, expressed confidence in the connection. "The fact that 1925 was a 'bumper' year for visitors," the game warden wrote, more than double 1924, "may be largely attributable to the publicity Kenya received from the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York."[850]

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Kenya was to enjoy two additional royal safaris within the next decade, both undertaken by the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VIII, in 1928 and 1930. His brother, the Duke of Gloucester, traveled to East Africa with him in 1930, but most attention was fixed on the Prince of Wales. The Prince of Wales was a handsome, dashing, charismatic figure who attracted extraordinary media attention everywhere he went, the same man who some years later scandalized the British establishment by his marriage to Wallis Simpson, an American divorcee, which precipitated his abdication from the throne in December 1936. The Prince of Wales hated official engagements and shied away from stuffy formalities, but the

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[848] "Kenya Problems: The Duke of York on His Tour," *The Times* [London], 22 May 1925, p. 18.
[849] William Shawcross, *The Queen Mother: The Official Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), p. 241.
[850] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1926," (A.T.A. Ritchie) (Nairobi: Government Press, 1927).

public loved him all the more for the humanness of his behavior. He would find himself in his element on safari.

The Prince of Wales departed for East Africa in early September 1928 and, after several stops along the way, including in Marseilles and Egypt, arrived in Mombasa toward the end of the month.[851] The party made its way through Kenya, more on tour than in the field, and then headed to Uganda where official engagements continued. It was in Uganda that he first set foot in the field to hunt and killed an elephant, which he found "easy and unexciting." An elephant is "uninspiring to kill," he explained "because, though his appearance may belie him, he looks so old, so gentle imbecile, so wisely pathetic, that to want to hurt him seems as unthinkable as it would be to want to hurt an old gentleman from the almshouse."[852] The Prince later killed a number of other animals that caused him less regret. These early shoots had been taken in intervals when stepping off the steamship and train, interspersed by continued official engagements.

It was not until the 15th of November that the Prince of Wales began his safari proper, which spent most of its time in Tanganyika. The expedition was outfitted in the most modern way available, with four lorries and five cars provided by locals. The Prince "had a time limit, and in that limit he was anxious to see as much of the country as was possible," Patrick Chalmers explained in a compilation of the Prince's dairies.[853] The Prince regretted that he was not undertaking "the old trek methods of *King Solomon's Mines,*" but felt justified that "in a car you can go… as far in one day as veldtschoen [field boots] would carry you in a week" while carrying "your store and kit along with you."[854] His "main object was to observe, to

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[851] His safaris are described in detail in The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934).
[852] Ibid, pp. 64-65.
[853] Ibid, p. 108.
[854] Ibid, p. 108.

photograph, and to film big game," although he did some shooting as well.[855] The resulting photographs, published in his book, were quite good and compared favorably with those taken by professionals.

The Prince of Wales, like all eminent personages, sought to engage the best professional hunters. The Prince initially sought to hire the famed guide J.A. Hunter, but Hunter was already out on safari with an American client. A famous story is often told (probably apocryphal) that when Hunter was called to assist with the Prince's safari and momentarily considered, his client protested: "Who's the Prince of Wales? My money's as good as his!"[856] In the event, Hunter declined the invitation, citing obligations to his current client, and the Prince went out with Denys Finch Hatton, later to be joined by Bror Blixen and several others, including A.T.A Ritchie of the Kenya Game Department. It is probable that the Duke of York had recommended Finch Hatton as the professional hunter, just as he had earlier recommended him to the American, Frederick B. Patterson.[857] The Prince acquired such a high opinion of Finch Hatton that he entitled one chapter of his book "Some Maxims of Finch-Hatton."[858] One of the most striking passages from the Prince's diaries was reserved for his great white hunter:

> Denys Finch-Hatton had the thankless role of bear-leader. His was the responsibility for lions, elephants and rhinoceroses, for quaker oats, cartridges and candles. All things were on the head of Finch-Hatton, and all things went without a hitch. He made never a mistake. He forgot nothing. He foresaw everything. At the last his charges took off their solar topees to him and said that he was the most efficient man in the world.[859]

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[855] Ibid, p. 24.
[856] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 262.
[857] Ibid, p. 84.
[858] The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934), Chapter VII. Many writers, including the Prince of Wales and Karen Blixen, hyphenated Finch Hatton's surname, but Denys himself did not.
[859] Ibid, p. 170.

In addition to being a leading professional hunter in the interwar years, Finch Hatton became one of the great personalities of Kenya and continues to be a source of public interest owing to his intimate relationship with Karen Blixen, whose book, *Out of Africa* (1937), became one of the most iconic works of literature ever written about East Africa. Although Finch Hatton was portrayed by Robert Redford, an American, in the 1985 film of the same name (alongside Meryl Streep, who played Karen Blixen), he was actually an upper-class Englishman descended from a long line of aristocrats, noble soldiers, politicians, and scholars, who maintained close connections with the aristocracy and the royal family of England. Finch Hatton was born in London in 1887, the younger son of the thirteenth Earl of Winchilsea, and Annie Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Henry John Codrington.[860] He distinguished himself from a young age as an individual of rare talent and magnetism. He attended Eton and then Oxford. Although he earned only a fourth in modern history at Oxford (his attitude there was one of "flippancy"), he was admired by his peers, very skillful on the sports field, and possessed a quick mind.[861]

Finch Hatton won the admiration of distinguished people everywhere he went, so it was hardly surprising that the Prince of Wales quickly became an admirer. Indeed, Finch Hatton may be the ultimate example of how much charm and social grace could matter to the men who acted as safari guides for the royalty, plutocrats, and celebrities of the Western elite. "Young and old, black or white, men and women," Finch Hatton's biographer writes, "fell under the mysterious quality of his spell."[862] Karen Blixen remarked that "it was the power of his response which affected people: his ability to communicate sensitively with his fellow

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[860] Elizabeth Baigent, 'Hatton, Denys George Finch- (1887–1931)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/view/article/39434, accessed 17 June 2014].
[861] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 41.
[862] Ibid, p. 38.

human beings, bringing out the best in them with dignity and affection."[863] Julian Huxley, a schooldays friend and later a distinguished biologist, remarked that Denys was "without doubt the handsomest boy in the school [at Eton]."[864] "At Oxford the same ascendancy over his fellows continued," Lord Cranworth added. "With his grand physique and slow crooked smile he was enormously attractive to women. Indeed nature presented him with more gifts than were the fair share of one man."[865] Beryl Markham, the aviatrix famous for becoming the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic, reputedly had an affair with Finch Hatton and later wrote rapturously about his charm:

> Denys has been written about before and will be written about again. If someone has not already said it, someone will say that he was a great man who never achieved greatness, and this will not only be trite, but wrong; he was a great man who never achieved arrogance…. He had a physique still remembered in British athletic circles; he was a foremost cricketer. He was a scholar of almost classic profundity, but was less pedantic than an untutored boy…. He could… find poetry in a field of rock… As for charm, I suspect Denys invented it…. It was a charm of intellect and strength, of quick intuition and Voltarian humour. What came from him, if emanate is not the better word, was a force that bore inspiration, spread confidence in the dignity of life, and even gave sometimes a presence to silence.[866]

Finch Hatton was also an outstanding organizer. "Method maketh the man," he declared.[867] He carefully planned the routes and timetables of each safari, taking into account the abilities and wishes of the client, as well as the patterns of weather and accessibility of particular hunting areas. He ordered and inspected goods and supplies and arranged for their transport to the camp. He provided his clients with new luxuries in the conviction that nothing enhanced a day in the bush more than conveniences in the camp. He purchased provisions on

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[863] Ibid, p. 115.
[864] Ibid, p. 42.
[865] Ibid, p. 56.
[866] Beryl Markham, *West with the Night* (New York: North Point, 1942, 1983), pp. 192-93.
[867] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 151.

a "law of averages," based on average daily consumption, ensuring utmost efficiency.[868] By 1930, he was bringing an ice machine on safari to serve cold sundowners. He brought tent bathrooms, an exquisite luxury in the heat and dust of the wilds, made possible by the African employees who carried water by hand from the nearest water hole and heated it as required in old paraffin tins. His employees laundered clothes and prepared meals to greet clients at the end of a long day in the field. Finch Hatton, like all good safari outfitters, understood that his clients were tourists paying dearly for comfort and enjoyment as well as adventure, and he accordingly strived to make life in the bush "more English than the home island itself," as the experience was remembered by Frederick Patterson, an American safari client who had introduced Finch Hatton to the pleasures of the photographic safari.[869]

Finch Hatton's keen interest in photography, which came somewhat ahead of other top professional hunters, held great appeal to the Prince, who was eager to try his hand with the camera and continued to take interest in wildlife photography for the remainder of his life. The new sport was not entirely free of risk. The Prince's father, King George V, was then ill, but the Prince took chances anyway. In one famous story, which may be apocryphal, the Prince was taking photographs of a rhino. As it began to ramble toward them, then to charge, the Prince kept his eye in the viewfinder, snapping photographs as the immense rhino rapidly closed the distance. Finch Hatton finally fired and killed the animal at the last moment, saving the Prince's life. "How dare you shoot without an order," the Prince shouted. "I wanted him right up to the camera." Finch Hatton calmly replied, "Your Royal Highness, if you, heir to

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[868] The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934), p. 174.

[869] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 152.

the throne, are killed, what is there left for me to do? I can only go behind a tree and blow my brains out."[870]

The Prince of Wales very nearly became the first of two British royals in the space of twenty-five years to accede to the throne while on safari (the other being Queen Elizabeth II in 1952). In late November 1928, only several weeks into his safari, the Prince received a series of cables that his father's health had taken a serious turn for the worse.[871] At first he did not take the news seriously, but telegrams from the prime minister and Buckingham Palace confirmed the bad news about the King and demanded that the Prince return to London at once. Special arrangements were made to usher him back to England with the greatest haste. He left the next day, 28 November, and arrived in London on the evening of 11 December. His first safari was cut short, but he vowed to return. Having apparently forgotten Finch Hatton's interference with his rhino photography, the Prince expressed the greatest admiration for the professional hunter in a letter penned after the safari: "Besides knowing more about hunting in Africa than nearly everybody, you kind of get the form of people so amazingly well and that is another reason why I hope so much that we can go on safari together again some day."[872]

In the event, the king's health recovered and the Prince of Wales began planning a second visit through correspondence with Finch Hatton and Blixen. The Prince told Finch Hatton that he hated the English winter and was "longing to get away to Africa and the sun more than ever."[873] He finally returned in 1930. The second time, the preparations were more

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870 Bartle Bull, *Safari: A Chronicle of Adventure* (New York: Viking, 1988), p. 259.
871 The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934), p. 139. The Prince mentions several close encounters with charging rhino in his diaries, including one on the second safari in 1930 (pp. 201-202), but does not describe his reaction as Finch Hatton so often told it.
872 Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 268-269.
873 Ibid, p. 284.

extensive and the anticipation, both public and private, was greater. His second safari would come by way of South Africa rather than from the north. The Prince's party left London at the beginning of January 1930, first visiting the Cape, then riding by rail through the Rhodesias, and finally taking a ship to Mombasa, where he arrived mid February.[874] The Prince again engaged Finch Hatton and Bror Blixen as his guides.

The prince had conditioned himself well prior to the trip and both his professional hunters were impressed by the Prince's enthusiasm and stamina. It certainly helped that he was far younger than most clients. On one occasion, the three men walked for four days after "an enormous elephant, a regular mammoth" that wore out even Blixen and Finch Hatton. They walked about twenty miles each day under "incandescent" sun over the "red-heat" of volcanic ground, subsisting on the sparest provisions. They camped on the open plain without any of the luxuries of a typical Finch Hatton safari. On the fourth morning, the hunters could barely pull their boots onto their swollen and blistered feet, and their supplies (including water) were almost gone. "The first steps were almost intolerable," the Prince recorded. "One limped along and got better on the way."[875]

By the time they caught up with the old bull on the evening of the fourth day, they had trekked 70 miles on foot. It was a "colossal beast" with tusks of about 125 pounds each, one of the largest elephants Finch Hatton had ever seen. But as the Prince moved into position for a shot, the Prince stumbled in the thorns and the bull crashed off at full speed, never to be seen again. Finch Hatton called it the worst luck in his career as a professional hunter, but at least "*something* had been achieved": they had overtaken the elephant.[876] The Prince did not like to

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[874] The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934), pp. 149-150.
[875] Ibid, p. 189.
[876] Ibid, p. 190.

kill them anyway, allegedly. The royal client had also made a lasting impression as a determined and vigorous hunter who could march for days without complaint. By the time they hiked an additional thirty miles back to the railway line, the Prince had won the lasting admiration of his guides. "There was nothing to prevent the prince from surrounding himself with all possible luxury and comfort," Blixen wrote later, "but he is notorious not that sort of man. Despising all effeminate softness in others, he makes the greatest demands on himself. I can assert without hesitation that he is one of the three or four toughest sportsmen I have ever been out with, perhaps the toughest of them all."[877]

The Prince returned to Nairobi from the first leg of his safari on the 22nd of February. He played golf, danced at the Muthaiga Club, flew planes over the Great Rift Valley, and commenced planning the next leg of his safari. He had long wanted to visit the Belgian Congo and return home by way of the White Nile through the Sudan.[878] Due back in London by 25 April, the Prince decided to spend three weeks in Kenya's Maasai Reserve, one week on safari near Lake Albert, and the balance of time in Uganda, the Congo, and the Sudan. Most of these latter safaris were spent photographing and filming rather than shooting, including many excellent films of the rare white rhinoceros in the Belgian Congo. He finally ended his safari and began the return journey in late April 1930, reaching Marseilles by early morning on the 25th and then flying the rest of the way back to England.[879]

The publicity value of the Prince's two safaris was enormous. His movements were following closely by the press, particularly in England.[880] Reginald Coupland, the Beit

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[877] Errol Trzebinski, *Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and His Relationship with Karen Blixen* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 286.

[878] The Prince of Wales, *Sport and Travel in East Africa: An Account of Two Visits, 1928 and 1930,* Compiled by Patrick Chalmers from the Private Diaries of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales (London: Philip Allan, 1934), pp. 196-97.

[879] "The Prince's Return: By Air From Marseilles," *The Times* [London], 26 April 1930, p. 10.

[880] See, for example, the stories printed in *The Times* of London, which usually reported his movements first: "The Prince's Tour: Departure To-Day for Africa," *The Times* [London], 6 September 1928; "The

Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, wrote a series of articles on Kenya in *The Times* in 1928 to coincide with the Prince's safari, describing the allures of the colony in the most lyrical way.[881] Denys Finch Hatton even got special mention on some occasions, augmenting his reputation as a leading professional hunter.[882] The day after the Prince of Wales returned from Africa in 1928 owing to the king's illness, *The Times* wrote an extended editorial that explained the source of his attraction to the public.

> There are certain aspects, no doubt, from which the Prince is already better known to his countrymen than any previous heir to the Throne. He has moved among them from boyhood on terms of easy friendship, has shared their interests, their amusements, their generous causes in peace, their dangers and their sorrows in the years of War. He is a familiar and highly popular figure throughout the length and breadth of the land.[883]

Whether the Prince's safari resulted in any immediate increase in the tourist traffic to East Africa is harder to measure and is obscured by the effects of the Depression that began in 1929, but there can be no doubt that his travels helped put East Africa on the map and contributed to the region's growing reputation as a paradise for sportsmen and tourists.

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While these royal safaris were unfolding in the 1920s, another movement was bringing Africa directly to viewers, not by the written word but with moving images of African wild animals. Filmmakers and motion-picture producers began making a large number of wildlife-themed films in the interwar years, making the genre one of the most popular of the day. It is impossible to estimate the publicity effects of such films, but they put Africa on peoples' minds

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Princes' Voyage: Arrival at Mombasa," *The Times* [London], 29 September 1928, p. 10; "The Prince of Wales: Departure for Africa," *The Times* [London], 4 January 1930, p. 10; "Prince of Wales Convalescent: Departure for Uganda on Sunday," *The Times* [London], 5 March 1930, p. 16; and many others.

[881] Reginald Coupland, "Contrasts in Kenya: To and From the Highlands," *The Times* [London], 2 October 1928, p. 17; Coupland, "Overland from Kenya: The Great North Road," *The Times* [London], 10 October 1928, p. 17;

[882] "The Prince's Tour: Departure from Nairobi," *The Times* [London], 15 November 1928, p. 15.

[883] "The Prince's Return," Editorial, *The Times* [London], 12 December 1928, p. 17.

and gave a glimpse, however artificial, of the continent's "exotic" wildlife attractions in both fictional motion pictures as well as nonfiction wildlife documentaries.

Among the most popular fictional motion pictures were adaptations of Rider Haggard's stories, which told tales of exploration and adventure in overtly colonial settings, overlaid by sensational imagery of a "dark" and "savage" Africa. The two most popular Haggard stories were *She* and *King Solomon's Mines*. *She,* a film about a white queen ruling over a lost kingdom in the heart of Africa, went through silent-film adaptations in 1908, 1911, 1916, 1917, and 1925.[884] The film continued to be made in later years, but the setting was moved to other locales outside Africa, such as Mongolia and Palestine. Haggard-based films moved closer to the safari theme in its adaptations of *King Solomon's Mines,* in which Allan Quatermain establishes the white hunter (part explorer, part adventurer, part professional hunter, and part guide) as the hero of the story. H. Lisle Lucoque had purchased the film rights to most Haggard stories in 1913-14, and began directing *King Solomon's Mines* and *Quatermain* in 1918, but neither were released in the United States. A second and more popular *King Solomon's Mines* was released in 1937, with many more versions to come.

Imperial ideas, the glorification of the British Empire, and casual racism were major components of these early films on Africa, sometimes their guiding theme, on the assumption that this enhanced their entertainment value. The screening of *King Solomon's Mines* in 1937, for example, was dedicated to "all big and little boys in the hope that it may instill in them the love of adventure which has helped to make the British Empire what it is today."[885] Africans, when they were depicted as characters with an inner life at all, were displayed in humiliating stereotypical roles that would today make audiences cringe: witch doctors, "savage" tribesmen in dark jungles, childlike helpers, exotic dancers, cannibals, and so on. Even when "good"

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[884] Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 17.
[885] Ibid, p. 24.

Africans were put on display, their goodness always derived from loyalty, obedience, and subservience to their white masters. White men, meanwhile, acted in the role of imperial heroes full of glorious virtues and unflinching courage. Jeffrey Richards described early British films on Africa as "a flourishing cinema of Empire… powerfully advocating a view of the British Empire as beneficent and necessary."[886] Such films were, through their contrived stories and stereotypical view of Africa, the exemplar of the colonial gaze. While such films were not realistic in any way, they fired the imagination of their audiences about the enchantments of Africa in ways that recalled the appeal of Rider Haggard's popular stories.

Quite apart from the general attitudes that prevailed across the West through the 1930s, films released in Britain were subject to censorship that upheld a conservative, pro-government, pro-Empire point of view. Filmmakers tended to err on the side of caution, producing films that could sail past the censors. They had to contend with such entities as the British Board of Film Censors, established in 1912, and the Colonial Films Committee, established in 1930, both of which, as the historian Rachel Low writes, upheld "the social and political assumptions of the extreme right wing, which seemed to them normal, neutral, desirable and non-controversial."[887] A British Film Services Board was formed in 1928 to "influence the use of films for the dissemination of true national culture and ideals."[888] Censorship in the United States was less propagandistic but similarly conservative. Formal censorship was carried out by the National Board of Review, the National Association of Motion Picture Industries, and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association. When American companies filmed in British colonies or released films in the United Kingdom, they had to obtain the approval of the colonial authorities and appease the British censors. The

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[886] Jeffrey Richards, "Patriotism with Profit: British Imperial Cinema in the 1930s," in James Curran and Vincent Porter, *British Cinema History* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1983), p. 249.
[887] Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 59.
[888] Ibid, p. 59.

effect was to compel American companies to contribute to British propaganda in the attempt to make and screen films that would gain approval of censors on their way to box office success. Such films were not allowed to question empire, nor to depict whites in a way that would undermine European racial "prestige," nor to tell stories that would give the "natives" ideas about their scope for independent thought and action.

The heyday of safari-themed Hollywood films would come later, after the Second World War. The turning point was the release of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer's *King Solomon's Mines* in 1950. It was masterfully filmed on location in Kenya, Uganda, and Ruanda-Urundi and resulted in large amounts of stock footage of wildlife and scenery that MGM used in many other films to come. Among the Africa-themed films to come out of Hollywood in the 1950s were *The African Queen* (1951), *Mogambo* (1953), *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1953), *White Witch Doctor* (1953), *Untamed* (1955), *Odongo* (1955), *The Roots of Heaven* (1958), and *Watusi* (1959). More followed later. All of these titles came in addition to a dizzying array of Tarzan films and spinoffs from the beginning of the twentieth century to the end, based on the writings of Edgar Rice Burroughs, although of course the Tarzan theme was centered more on Africa and the jungle than on wildlife and the safari.

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Until the 1930s, non-fiction films about Africa, particularly wildlife documentaries, probably garnered even more attention than fictional motion pictures and were responsible for furnishing many of the visual images the West associated with the safari.[889] Viewers of these early films were offered an undifferentiated glimpse of exotic "Africa," but for the filmmakers

[889] For studies of wildlife films, see especially: Peter Bale, ed. *Wildlife Through the Camera* (London: BBC Books, 1982); Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of Non-Fiction Film* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1974); Derek Bouse, *Wildlife Films* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Cynthia Chris, *Watching Wildlife* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009).

themselves, this Africa almost always meant East Africa, especially Kenya. This region offered, more than any other part of the continent, a wide variety of scenes of wild animals in locations that were convenient for film crews to reach. Kenya also held the added benefits of amenities kept up to Western standards and above all a well-organized safari industry eager to cater to every whim of filmmakers and photographers. Without transport and accommodations, without outfitters and guides, and without an experienced group of locals able to take filmmakers to the game, there is no way that early wildlife films could have been made. Kenya offered the ideal setting for early wildlife filmmaking and accordingly gained the most from its publicity.

The first noteworthy attempts to record wildlife on film in East Africa occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century. We have already seen in an earlier chapter how the British photographer Cherry Kearton accompanied the Roosevelt expedition, producing the film *Theodore Roosevelt in Africa* in 1910, although its commercial success was modest. Kearton's film came toward the beginning of a period of experimentation in the genre and was followed by many others. The same year, on a safari that had crossed paths with Roosevelt in East Africa, Carl Akeley hired some Nandi spearmen to stage a lion hunting ritual, but the resulting film was poor and the footage was never screened. Akeley himself wrote in his memoir that the first commercially "successful" wildlife film produced in East Africa was *The Water Hole,* filmed in 1911 by Mr. Lydford, who was temporarily employed as the photographer of Paul Rainey's expedition.[890] Some of this footage was reused in future film collaborations by Rainey to create what ranked at the time as the most famous moving images of African wildlife available before the 1920s.

[890] Carl E. Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1920), p. 156.

Rainey, a wealthy American coal heir and playboy, was really more of a hunter than a filmmaker, known in particular for hunting lions with packs of dogs. In 1911, he set out for East Africa on a privately financed $250,000 expedition under the auspices of the New York Zoological Society and the Smithsonian Institution.[891] By the end of the year he released *Scenes of African Animals,* much of it compiled from earlier films made by others. Rainey hired several photographers, including the Nairobi-based H.K. "Pop" Binks, shot hundreds of thousands of feet of film, and released *Paul Rainey's African Hunt* in 1912, followed by a re-edited version of *Rainey's African Hunt* in 1914, which included some new footage. *Paul Rainey's African Hunt* was a tremendous success, becoming one of the most profitable wildlife films yet produced. It was hailed by Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History, as the "greatest contribution to natural science of the decade."[892] The film reputedly grossed half a million dollars.[893] Much of the film's appeal derived from Rainey's presence on camera. He stood six feet, four inches tall, was ruggedly handsome, and inspired his viewers by displaying a sense of adventure and athletic prowess on the screen. Martin Johnson, who was among the young boys inspired by Rainey's scenes of African wildlife, adopted this technique by making himself and his wife Osa part of the drama in their "stories" of African wildlife.[894]

The next noteworthy picture was made by Lady Grace MacKenzie, who released *Lady MacKenzie's Big Game Pictures* in 1915 (sometimes entitled *Heart of Africa*), with Harold Sintzenich doing most of the camera work.[895] The footage was taken on her third safari.

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[891] Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009). p. 18.
[892] Ibid, pp. 18-19.
[893] Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 97.
[894] This point is made in particular in Ibid, pp. 95-98.
[895] Carl Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubeday, Page, 1923), p. 156.

"Having been twice before and being unable to convince her friends that she actually faced the monsters of the jungle and slew them at short range," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* explained in somewhat bombastic tone, "she decided to make an undeniable and permanent record of her experiences."[896] The exhibition of her film constituted a "valuable travelogue," the *New York Times* remarked more soberly, adding that the film showed zebras grazing, antelopes in flight, the huntress bringing down a rhino at close range, and a lion bowling her over in the grass – "highly entertaining examples all, of motion pictures taken under difficulties."[897]

Illustration 41: *Lady MacKenzie's Big Game Pictures* was screened across the world in 1915 and received widely favorable reviews.[898]

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[896] "Lady MacKenzie's Big Game Pictures," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* 6 June 1915, p. 14.
[897] "Lady MacKenzie's African Pictures Shown at the Lyceum," *The New York Times,* 8 June 1915, p. 13.
[898] This advertisement was shown in *The New York Times,* 13 June 1915, p. 93.

As the *New York Times* review of MacKenzie's film indicates, there existed a demand among certain classes for "realistic" and "scientific" records of distant lands, which some filmmakers strived to fulfill. Carl Akeley, for instance, had maintained an interest in wildlife photography and filmmaking as a natural complement to his main work of preserving animal specimens as permanent exhibits for the enjoyment and education of others. After his initial foray into filmmaking, which ended in disappointment, Akeley resolved to surmount his difficulties by inventing a hand-held motion-picture camera that was held like a pistol. He called it "the Akeley."[899] "It resembled a machine gun quite as much as it resembled a camera," he wrote, "and since its perfection the Akeley camera has been carried into many far-away corners of the globe by museum expeditions and explorers," including by Martin and Osa Johnson.[900] The principal difference between the Akeley camera and others then available was a panoramic device that enabled the user to swing it about, much like a gun, following the natural line of vision. The design was perfectly suited for wildlife photography. Akeley patented his camera in 1916 and later received a contract from the Army during the First World War to produce more cameras and to work in the Army's engineering department.[901]

After being interrupted by the First World War, early attempts at wildlife filmmaking would experience one more burst of activity before being eclipsed by a new class of professionals in the 1920s, personified by Martin and Osa Johnson. First, after the war, came a trickle of amateur films, mostly taken of hunters on personal safaris and rarely screened outside their home areas. Then, in 1923 and 1924, seven films were released each year, accounting for about one-quarter of non-fiction Africa films produced between 1920 and

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[899] Carl Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubeday, Page, 1923), p. 166.
[900] Among those using the Akeley camera were the Katmai Expedition of the National Geographic Society, the Mulford Biological Expedition to the Amazon Basin, the Third Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, the MacMillan Arctic Association, and the British Guiana Tropical Research Station at Kartabo. Ibid, p. 167.
[901] Ibid, p. 171.

1940.[902] Some of these films were simply amateur pictures of a pleasure trip. Others were edited as a "lecture film," wherein the traveler would go on tour with the film, narrate his experience while the film played on the screen, and often sell companion books to the audience. Finally, of course, professional filmmakers accounted for a number of these films. Among the professionals was the notorious H.A. Snow, whose *Hunting Big Game in Africa with Gun and Camera* (1923) ran for three months at New York's Lyric Theatre and throughout the country.[903] Cheviot's negative letter to *The Times* of London detailing Snow's inhumane treatment of animals, and criticism by Carl Akeley for faking animal scenes, apparently caused little harm to Snow's commercial success. It was one of the most successful wildlife films to date, enjoying 250 first-run bookings within twelve days of release.[904] Around the same time, Cherry Kearton released *Wild Life Across the World*, which mixed old and new footage and was generally well received. He released another film, *With Cherry Kearton in the Jungle,* in 1926, but thereafter faded from the scene, with the exception of a retrospective film in 1935 (when Kearton was 64 years old), *Big Game of Life*. Many other lesser films accompanied these titles.

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A new era dawned in the creation of nonfiction wildlife documentary films in 1921, when a young American couple from Kansas named Martin and Osa Johnson visited Kenya on the recommendation of Carl Akeley, who by then had become the director of the American Museum of Natural History.[905] The Johnsons had developed a reputation as talented

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[902] Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 46.
[903] Jean Hartley, *Africa's Big Five: And Other Wildlife Filmmakers: A Centenary of Wildlife Filmmaking in Kenya* (Nairobi: Twaweza Communications, 2010), p. 120.
[904] Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 110.
[905] For written accounts of the Johnson's filmmaking endeavors, see especially: Martin Johnson, *Camera Trails in Africa* (New York and London: The Century Co, 1924); Osa Johnson, *I Married Adventure: The Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New York, Tokyo, and London: Kodansha International, 1940, 1989);

filmmakers of exotic locales, having taken earlier expeditions in the South Pacific. In 1921, they went on safari in northern Kenya and were directed by their guides, Blayney Percival (recently retired from his position as Game Warden) and Bud Cottar (son of Charles Cottar), toward an unnamed lake near Mount Marsabit. Although the claims made in the film that the lake was "lost" and "unknown" were fabricated, it was a secluded and little-traveled locale. The lake was the center of an extinct volcano, filled with water and surrounded by wooded banks that rose steeply 200 feet above its shores. Inspired by the scene of wildlife drawn to the shores of this shallow crater, the Johnsons named it Lake Paradise.[906] It was the perfect location for the Johnsons to film and photograph animals, which resulted in their first African film, *Trailing African Wild Animals,* released in New York in 1923 and in London the following year. This first African venture was funded from Johnson's personal investments and a handful of patrons, and produced by Metro Pictures (just before the company's merger with Goldwyn in 1924).[907]

The film became an outstanding commercial success, far exceeding the expectations of its backers, praised for its scientific merits as well as its entertainment value. Akeley wrote that "the picture is, by far, the finest thing in wildlife pictures that has come out of Africa, or any other place for that matter. It is accurate and truthful, chuck full of beauty and thrills. It is the most thrilling picture I have ever seen."[908] Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, a prominent conservationist, wrote that "the picture is by far the finest big game picture I have

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and the authoritative account of their lives by Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

906 The story of the Johnson's first African trip and their "discovery" of Lake Paradise is told in Martin Johnson, *Camera Trails in Africa* (New York and London: The Century Co, 1924), especially Chapters XVII and XVIII, pp. 298-332.

907 Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009), p. 27.

908 Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 112.

ever seen."[909] Carl Akeley and Henry Fairfield Osborn signed a testimonial proclaiming that "we believe in Martin Johnson," and the American Museum of Natural History followed this with its own endorsement.[910]

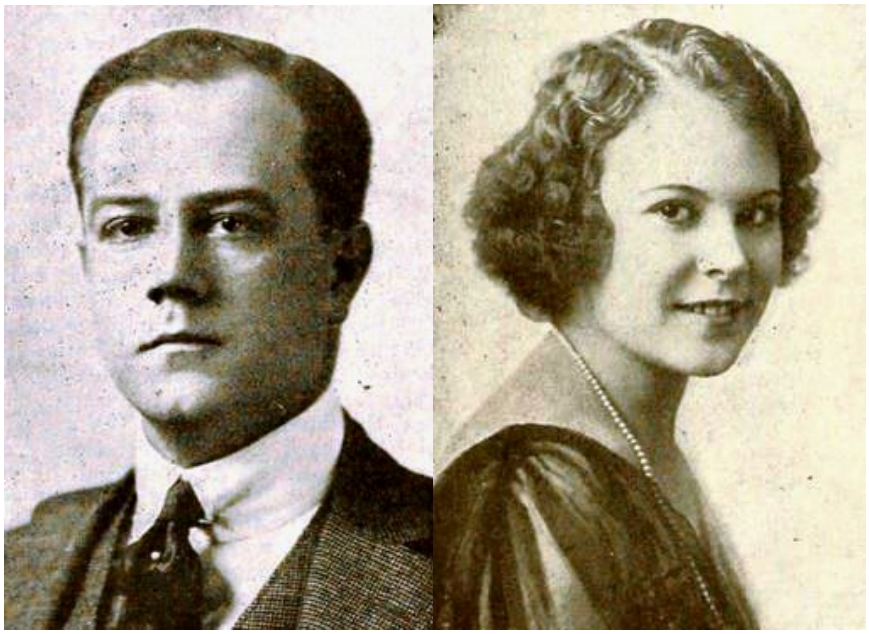

Illustration 42: Martin and Osa Johnson in 1919. Together they became the most successful wildlife filmmakers in the interwar years, taking many of their best films during extended excursions in Kenya.[911]

The Johnsons had greater ambitions for Lake Paradise and believed that pictures of African wildlife could achieve even greater commercial success. Following the success of their first African film, the Johnsons had gained the backing of the scientific establishment and also proved the commercial potential of their films. They began planning a second expedition almost as soon as they returned, this time, they hoped, a trip of several years that could take full advantage of their new filming location. Martin Johnson estimated that they would need

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[909] Ibid, p. 112.
[910] Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009). p. 29.
[911] These images, made public on Wikimedia Commons, were originally published in *Moving Picture World,* 29 March 1919, p. 1774.

a total capital of $150,000, with $60,000 required the first year alone, to realize their ambitious plans.[912] As could be expected, such large outlays of money for extended excursions into the wilds of Kenya promised – and delivered – large profits to the safari companies that helped make the trips happen. Kenya itself did not see the whole sum of such expenditures, of course, much being spent back home, but large filmmaking projects did nevertheless bring substantial profits to the safari industry while providing free publicity.[913]

The board of trustees of the American Museum of Natural History balked at the costs, but the Johnsons had gained the confidence of Akeley and other influential members of the New York scientific establishment. In the end, despite the lobbying, the museum's board of trustees agreed to endorse the project scientifically out of the hope that publicity from the Johnson's films would help raise interest in the museum and thereby contribute to its finances, but they were unwilling to contribute to the costs of the expedition. Yet one of the individuals who believed in the Johnson's project was Daniel Pomeroy, director and vice-president of the Banker's Trust Company and an influential trustee of the American Museum of Natural History. Pomeroy first spearheaded and then became president of the new Martin Johnson African Expedition Corporation, a company founded in January 1924 to finance the expedition through the sale of preferred and common stock.[914] It remained only to find investors.

With the museum's endorsement and other financial pledges, the Johnsons visited Rochester, New York to solicit support from George Eastman, the founder of the Eastman-Kodak Company, one of the great philanthropists of the day. Eastman was reluctant at first and initially turned the Johnsons away, but eventually he agreed to grant $10,000 toward the

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[912] Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, *They Married Adventure: The Wandering Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), p. 114.
[913] No records have surfaced to indicate the exact scale of filmmaking expenditures *in Kenya,* so it must be inferred that the amount was large but ultimately, at this point, unknown.
[914] Ibid, p. 117.

cost of the expedition, along with permission to use his name to raise more.[915] Additional pledges poured in. With funding secure and pledges for more, the Johnsons finally arrived back in Nairobi in early 1924 at the head an immense safari that traveled 500 miles north of Nairobi with six Willys-Knight cars with customized safari bodies, four lorries, five mule-drawn wagons, four ox-carts, and some 230 porters. Thirty-five other Africans were employed in other capacities.[916] Blayney Percival led the Johnson safari north across lava fields toward the lake.

The Johnsons were not simply "going on safari" in the conventional sense; they intended to establish a fully-fledged base camp at Lake Paradise from which they would spend nearly four years filming and photographing the area's wild scenes. Their preparations were immense. They carried 255 crates of supplies, including eighteen guns, twenty-one cameras, and large quantities of supplies, photographic equipment, camp furniture, tents, and food.[917] Once they cut their way through the forest to the lake, they constructed numerous cottages from wood, each one stuccoed with clay and dung, its chimneys made from clay bricks. Their camp included gardens, storehouses, a photographic laboratory, and corrals. Osa managed the village of 150 workers and proved her capacity for organization. Martin took and processed most of the film. The Johnson's skill and natural talent was already to their credit, but now they enjoyed the added advantages of generous backing from George Eastman and Daniel Pomeroy, the prestige of being associated with a great institution, and the ability to film animals with greater care over longer periods in a pristine location made accessible by a well-supplied camp. The result, as one film historian writes, was to "put together some of the most

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[915] Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 485.
[916] Bartle Bull, *Safari: A Chronicle of Adventure* (New York: Viking, 1988), p. 246.
[917] Osa Johnson, *Four Years in Paradise* (J.B. Lippencott, 1941), pp. 15-23.

extraordinary animal cinematography ever made, the more remarkably so because of the limited equipment of the day."[918]

The Johnsons were true professional photographers and set about taking pictures with their customary thoroughness. They used numerous cameras at once, some held in their hands, others mounted to cars, and others yet set up on special trip wires along game trails. They used different lenses for different scenes, and took slow motion as well as standard speed films. Every day, Martin Johnson developed films, packed them in tins, and sealed them with paraffin wax to be sent back home. Occasionally the Johnsons took lengthy safaris away from their base camp, mainly to film but also sometimes to shoot. As a result of their efforts between 1923 and 1927, the Johnsons returned home with several hundred thousand feet of film. Much of it was given to the American Museum of Natural History, but some was edited and released commercially. The most successful film to emerge from these four years of work was released in early 1928 by Daniel Pomeroy, who had become the Johnson's producer, entitled *Simba, the King of the Beasts: a Saga of the African Veldt* (1928). The film opened in New York City in January 1928 and earned $2 million in box-office revenues.[919]

The wildlife footage was magnificent and showed the best of what the Johnsons had produced during their time in Kenya, but the film itself was marred by the attitudes of the age. The opening title describes a land of "mystery, thrills, and darksome savage drama," repeating racist stereotypes about Africa.[920] Bare-breasted tribal women were described as "belles" and "a little black flapper," and Osa's maid is said to have "got what she thought was an idea," before being shown putting on white makeup.[921] The film splices in fabricated scenes of

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[918] Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 47.
[919] Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009), p. 31.
[920] Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 49.
[921] Ibid, p. 49.

priests, dancers, black "gods," and other superstitions that depict a fictional "savage" Africa. "[T]he incessant degrading situations into which the Johnsons cast individual Africans and tribal groups," historian Gregg Mitman writes, "reinforced a notion of the racial superiority of white American audiences and the inferiority of blacks."[922] Yet, despite the film's faults, there can be no doubt that it generated unprecedented interest in the "exotic" attractions of Africa. Appealing to the interest of affluent white tourists in the twenties and thirties did not require one to be politically correct or even remotely sensitive about racial prejudice – if anything the opposite. Such casual, degrading "comedy" and titillation about Africans was considered to have "entertainment value" and probably contributed to commercial success. By contrast, the animal footage relied upon anthropomorphism and story lines, giving viewers a sense of identification with wild creatures. Naturally, the safari industry was happy to see interest in animals (but not Africans) elevated by these methods.

The Johnsons produced many other films, some of which used recycled footage. They revived *Simba* in 1930 with a "synchronized [sound] accompaniment." The advent of sound made film releases more complex and expensive, and the Johnsons produced most of such films through Fox Film Corporation. This partnership produced *Congorilla* in 1932, *So This is Africa* in 1933, and *Wings Over Africa* in 1934. The last of Martin Johnson's films was *Baboona* in 1934, the chief contribution of which was that the Johnsons made extensive use of airplanes to make their films, including scenes flying over Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya. Unfortunately, they also shot scenes in enclosures, which critics easily detected. The Johnson's had always walked a tightrope between the scientific establishment's desire for accuracy and realism, and Hollywood's desire to profit. Fabricated scenes and racial stereotypes, if anything, intensified under Fox's quest for maximum box office results, leading

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[922] Gregg Mitman, *Reel Nature: America's Romance with Wildlife on Film* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999, 2009). p. 33.

the scientific establishment, which had formerly praised the authenticity of the Johnsons' work, to question their commitment to science and education as opposed to commercial success.

The Johnson's remarkable success in the twenties and thirties came to a sudden end when Martin Johnson died in a commercial plane crash in California in 1937; Osa, also on the flight, recovered. Three years later, Osa released *I Married Adventure* (1940), an anthology of their lives that includes scenes of her and a double of Martin. The accompanying book published the same year became the best-selling non-fiction book of 1940. The Johnson's fame was still so great in 1953 that their footage became the basis of the first wildlife series shown on television, entitled *Osa Johnson's The Big Game Hunt,* which consisted of twenty-six 30-minute episodes. Several years later, in 1961, the Martin and Osa Johnson Safari Museum opened in Osa's hometown of Chanute, Kansas, featuring a vast collection of their films, photographs, books, articles, manuscripts, and other artifacts from their adventures.

During this period the Johnsons had stood at the pinnacle of nonfiction films on Africa, but others had made noteworthy entries into the field, and one, Armand Denis, marked his first foray into a genre that he would dominate after the war. In 1926, Major and Stella Court Treatt, a British version of Martin and Osa, released *Cape to Cairo* to positive reviews. Alan Cobham, a well-known pilot who helped bring flight to East Africa, took then-novel aerial films with a special camera mounted to his aircraft, released as *With Cobham to the Cape* (1926). Paul Hoefler, a photographer-journalist for the *Denver Post,* embarked on the Denver Africa Expedition in 1924-25, and later on the Colorado Africa Expedition in 1928-29, both times guided by the Cottars. He released *The Bushmen* in 1927 and *Africa Speaks* in 1930, the latter in particular a highly successful film and the first of its kind to include sound.[923] Later, in 1940, he produced one of the last black-and-white Africa-themed expedition films, *Leopard Men of*

[923] Jean Hartley, *Africa's Big Five: And Other Wildlife Filmmakers: A Centenary of Wildlife Filmmaking in Kenya* (Nairobi: Twaweza Communications, 2010), p. 28.

Africa. Roy Tuckett released *Wings Over Africa* in 1933, another film that used aerial images. The genre was becoming so common and so well known – perhaps even so over done – that Carveth Wells consciously poked fun at Africa-themed films in *Law of the Jungle* (1936), which announced that it "will have achieved its end if it succeeds in exposing much of the nonsense which has been talked about the hair-raising experiences of those who make films in the jungle."[924] Numerous other wildlife films were produced during this period with varying degrees of success.[925]

One more bright light flickered before the Second World War once again interrupted the production of wildlife documentary films. In 1938, Armand Denis released his first African film, *Dark Rapture,* produced by Universal Pictures. The quality of the film and the response it met across the world recalled the success of the Johnson's *Simba* nearly a decade before. *Dark Rapture* was filmed in vivid color, showed both animals and humans, and dispensed with much (though not all) of the casual racism of the earlier wildlife films. The *New York Times* wrote that if *Dark Rapture* "isn't the best film about Africa ever made it is certainly the most beautiful and most richly documented production of its kind ever to achieve general release in this country… [H]ere is a portfolio of anthropological facts more exciting and wonderful than the best of the fictions to which we have previously been exposed."[926] In the event, of course, it was only the beginning of Armand's career as a distinguished filmmaker, and also only the beginning of a new generation of wildlife documentary films, of which Disney became a major producer in the 1950s, to be followed somewhat later by the BBC and other big-budget networks and corporations. These wildlife documentary films, despite their uneven quality,

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924 Kenneth Cameron, *Africa on Film: Beyond Black and White* (New York: Continuum, 1994), p. 52.
925 A full filmography of wildlife films produced in Kenya can be found in the Appendix of Jean Hartley, *Africa's Big Five: And Other Wildlife Filmmakers: A Centenary of Wildlife Filmmaking in Kenya* (Nairobi: Twaweza Communications, 2010).
926 B.R.C., "The Screen," *New York Times,* 10 October 1938 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers), p. 14.

fulfilled a profoundly important role in the 1920s and 1930s by creating, disseminating, and popularizing images of Africa and the attractions it offered to tourists, chief among them the region's wildlife.

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Plutocrats and captains of industry had always been major clients of the luxury safari, but their presence intensified in the interwar years. One in particular deserves mention here for the close connection he held with so many different aspects of the safari experience. In 1925, George Eastman retired from his position as the president of the Eastman Kodak Company and shortly thereafter took two extensive safaris in East Africa. Eastman, born in 1854, had founded the Eastman Kodak Company in 1892 and presided over a tremendously successful, field-leading period of the company's growth. After the First World War, he became widely known to the public through his philanthropy, which ranked only slightly behind that of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller.

By the mid 1920s it could justly be said that Eastman had done more for East Africa's safari industry than any other individual who had never actually visited the region. His personal inventions and the commercial endeavors of his company had made tremendous strides in photographic technology (including the development of roll film) upon which both wildlife filmmaking and the photographic safari depended. Eastman had become a major patron of Martin and Osa Johnson in 1923, resulting in some of the finest African wildlife films of the interwar years. Quite independently, he had become a major patron of museums and natural history collections. If the public did not know his name from philanthropic efforts, whole generations had delighted in the cameras and films that Eastman's company had made accessible on an unprecedented scale. Eastman did not know it at the time, but in the 1890s

one of those people was a young man named Martin Johnson, whose father's store acquired the exclusive sales agency for Kodak cameras and supplies for their town in Missouri.[927]

The Johnsons had been urging their patron to join them on safari since he agreed to finance a portion of their work in 1923. "We both hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in Africa," Martin wrote to Eastman. "Should you come, we would meet you in Nairobi and take you into the finest game country in the world. We will promise that you will be healthier and feel ten years younger than when you arrived."[928] Eastman by this time was seventy years old, by no means entirely in good health, and his friends considered a trip to tropical Africa a dangerous proposition. Yet he soon began planning a trip that would commence in April 1926.[929] He saw it as his last chance to realize a long held dream of hunting in Africa – indeed, he was an avid camper and adventurer and had inquired about a safari in British East Africa as early as 1907.[930] Eastman applied his customary thoroughness to planning the African trip and by the time of departure in March had over 200 small equipment boxes packed and waiting to be loaded in Kodak Park, including cameras and film. Eastman was joined on this trip by Carl Akeley, Daniel Pomeroy, Audley Stewart (Eastman's personal physician), and a working group from the American Museum of Natural History.[931] It became known as the Akeley-Eastman-Pomeroy Expedition, destined to become one of the last great collecting missions to Africa sponsored by a major museum. Eastman boasted later that "Percival [his guide] says

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[927] Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 484.
[928] Ibid, p. 486.
[929] Eastman's first safari is described in a collection of letters published as George Eastman, *Chronicles of an African Trip* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith, 1927).
[930] Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 484.
[931] George Eastman, *Chronicles of an African Trip* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith, 1927), Introduction.

ours is the largest motor safari to leave Nairobi so far – five trucks (three our own and two hired) and two passenger cars," along with 35 natives, with more to be added later.[932]

Eastman relished his African safari. He spent periods of time in the Johnsons camp at Lake Paradise, interspersed with hunts to the field with Percival, who Eastman said he paid about £150 a month.[933] Daniel Pomeroy and his guide Pat Ayre accompanied most of these excursions. Percival and other "white hunters know which [trophies] are the best," Eastman wrote, "and are very particular not to let us shoot anything that will not be a credit to them as well as ourselves."[934] When suitable trophies were not at hand, Eastman took opportunities to take photographs and films. On one occasion, they used a .22 caliber rifle to get a lion to charge within 13 paces, Martin Johnson taking films the whole time.[935] On another occasion, after finding a small rhino, Eastman began making a Cine-Kodak film, cranking his little camera as he walked closer, until approaching within twenty yards of the animal. Suddenly the rhino charged. Eastman held fast with his camera until the last moment, when the animal was about five yards away, and then sidestepped it, "like a toreador," Osa Johnson wrote, actually touching its side as it passed.[936] The rhino turned and began to charge again but Percival took it down with one shot. The animal fell two paces from the lucky photographer. Later, in Rochester, when Eastman showed the film to his friends and colleagues, they expressed concern that a man of such importance would take such risks. "Trust your organization," he told them – high praise for Percival and the company he then worked for, Safariland, Ltd.[937]

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[932] Ibid, p. 32.
[933] Ibid, p. 23.
[934] Ibid, p. 59.
[935] Ibid, p. 76.
[936] Osa Johnson, *I Married Adventure: The Lives of Martin and Osa Johnson* (New York, Tokyo, and London: Kodansha International, 1940, 1989), pp. 298-99.
[937] Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 489.

Less than a year after Eastman returned to the United States, he began planning a second safari to be accompanied by the Johnsons and Carl Akeley.[938] Eastman wanted to kill an elephant and white rhino in particular and desired to travel to East Africa on a Thomas Cook steamship through Egypt and the Sudan, following the Nile to its source. From there the party would travel to the Serengeti and witness the great migration, then on to the Belgian Congo to film pygmies in the Ituri Forest. The Johnsons finally agreed in September 1927, and Martin prepared a press release for newspapers that were "already pestering for interviews."[939] The party finally departed New York in December 1927 and, after several visits in Europe, boarded a steamship in Egypt. It was a luxurious stern-wheel steamer with twenty-seven state rooms for the party of four, packed with all variety of fine foods and luxury items and Eastman's ten trunks of photographic equipment. At the end of the Nile journey, the seventy-three-year-old client had to enlist fifty porters and ride on a contrived sedan chair. He duly bagged his white rhino and witnessed the "large hordes of wild animals in Tanganyika," which "they tell me … are likely to diminish very rapidly now that they can be reached so easily from Nairobi… by automobile."[940]

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[938] Eastman's second safari is described in George Eastman, *Chronicles of a Second African Trip,* Edited and with an Introduction by Kenneth Cameron (New York: Friends of the University of Rochester Libraries, 1987).
[939] Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 492.
[940] Ibid, p. 494.

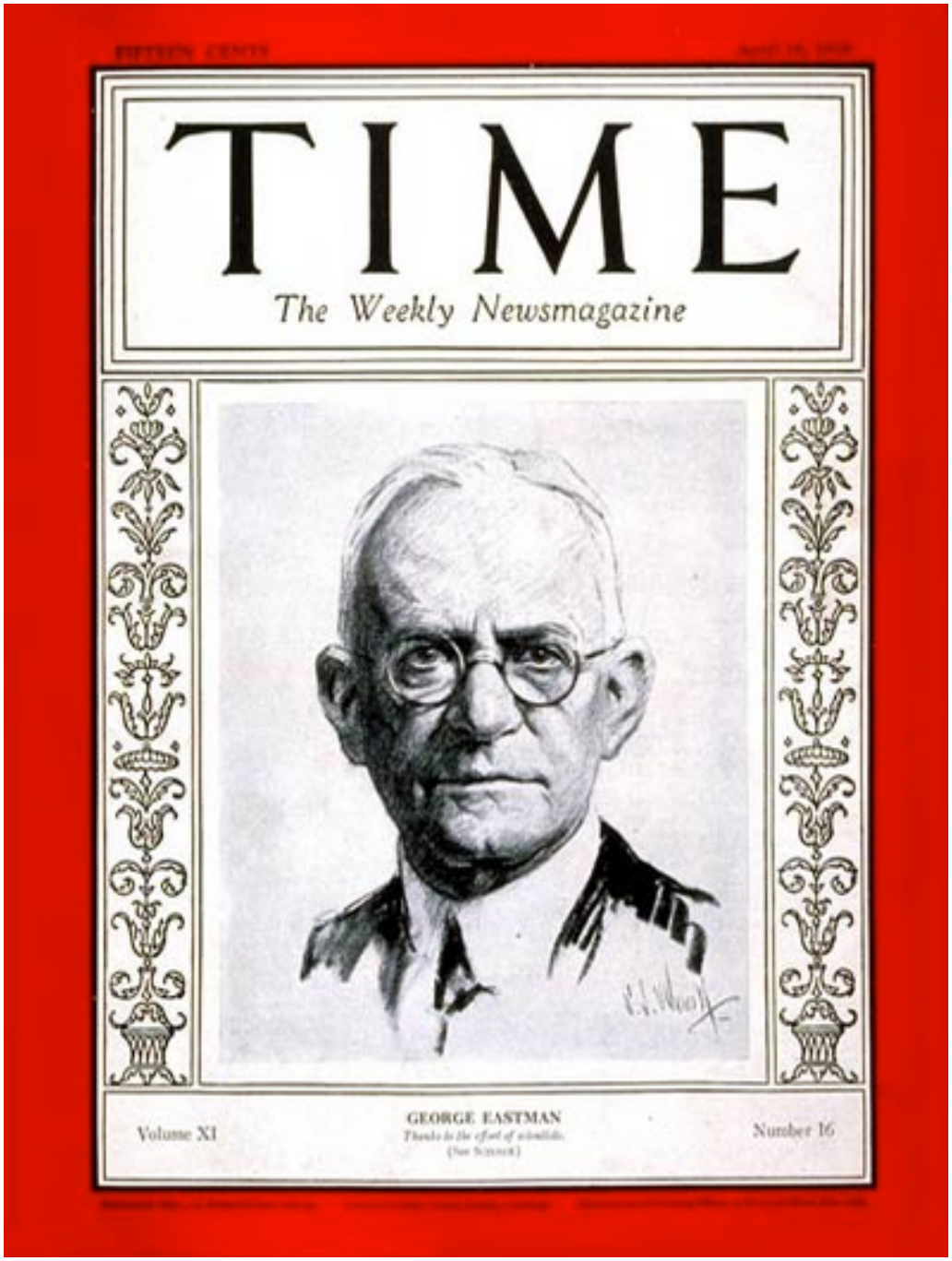

Illustration 43: George Eastman was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine and in its cover story on great expeditions.[941]

[941] "Science: Expeditions," *Time,* April 16, 1928 [online edition].

The publicity of the Eastman safaris was enormous, partly because of his name and reputation as the founder of the most successful photographic company, partly because of his association with Martin and Osa Johnson, and partly because he went to Kenya under the auspices of distinguished scientific institutions. The *New York Times* published and Eastman and Johnson's photographs in their Sunday rotogravure section in December 1926, as well as syndicating them to other publications. The *New York Times* also dispatched journalists to follow Eastman's movements to Europe, recalling the train of reporters who pursued Roosevelt across the world two decades before.[942] In April 1928, Eastman was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine and his safari was described in a leader article about scientific expeditions around the world. "The scientific importance of his trip," *Time* wrote in its cover story, "lay chiefly in the cinema films which, with the aid of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Johnson, he took of African mammals at their private affairs."[943] Eastman's status as a captain of a popular industry was the source of much of the public's interest, of course, but his safari was the backdrop of the story and undoubtedly piqued the interest of many readers. As *Time* magazine wrote:

> [Eastman's] industry, the manufacture of cameras and films and their distribution to every city of the hemispheres, explains why the public followed Mr. Eastman's movements more than they followed the movements of other adventurers. News papers reported his preparations at the end of last year for this African hunt; they reported his coming out of the rough in the early part of March; they reported as merrily as they dared his escape… from a train burning between Luxor and Cairo, Egypt. Correspondents cabled his departure from Cairo and of his arrival at Naples at the end of March.[944]

The natural history craze was winding down by the late 1920s, but Eastman showed that safari expeditions taken under the guise of science could still capture the public's imagination, perhaps especially when they involved a philanthropic captain of industry whose trip exhibited

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[942] Ibid, p. 489.
[943] "Science: Expeditions," *Time,* April 16, 1928, p. 3 of 5 [online edition].
[944] Ibid, p. 5 of 5 [online edition].

the success of his company's product. Eastman using his own cameras to capture stunning images of wildlife in Africa alongside Martin and Osa Johnson, the world's best wildlife filmmakers, whom he financed, made for great press in the 1920s.

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Finally, of course, there were writers in the interwar years who continued a longstanding tradition of writing stories of their safari experiences. There has probably been no individual since Theodore Roosevelt more closely associated with the African safari than Ernest Hemingway. For many readers, Hemingway personified the virtues of American manliness. He pursued adventure (even danger) in many contexts, and he relished the safari as a great exhibition of manhood – as a test, like writing, that required dedication in pursuit of ever-greater attainment in an endeavor rife with pitfalls. If Hemingway shaped ideas about Africa and created publicity for the safari, Africa also influenced Hemingway. He had been enthralled with stories of African hunting as a boy, including Theodore Roosevelt's *African Game Trails* (1910) and John Patterson's *Man-Eaters of Tsavo* (1907). Hemingway's own writings on Africa rank among the most famous in his oeuvre. Two of his most celebrated short stories depict safari experiences in Africa, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" (1936) and "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" (1936).[945] Hemingway's first safari in the 1930s produced a major book, *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), a fictional story based on real events, while his second safari in 1953-54 resulted in a large manuscript, published posthumously as *True at First Light* (1999).[946] Both Hemingway's safaris also produced a number of short

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945 "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" first appeared in *Esquire* in 1936, while "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" appeared in the September 1936 issue of *Cosmopolitan*. Both are now most accessible in Ernest Hemingway, *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

946 The manuscript of *True at First Light* (New York: Scribner, 1999) was largely completed in the two years following Hemingway's second safari, while he recuperated from injuries sustained in two serious plane crashes that happened at the end of his African trip. He called his manuscript "the Africa book." His wife, Mary, donated it to the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library following Hemingway's suicide. Hemingway's son, Patrick, later edited and published the work in 1999 to generally poor critical reception.

articles.[947] These writings and their themes served as the basis of many films and spinoffs beginning in the 1930s, to such an extent that for many years the public's popular ideas about the African safari were based largely upon what Hemingway wrote.

Illustration 44: Ernest Hemingway on safari in January 1934.[948]

Hemingway's first safari, the only one he took before the Second World War, began in December 1933. Although Hemingway had already made a name and earned a decent livelihood as a writer, this was still the trough of the Depression. His first safari was made

[947] See especially Hemingway's "Letters" in *Esquire* magazine: "a.d. in Africa: A Tanganyika Letter" (April 1934); "Shootism versus Sport" (June 1934); and "Notes on Dangerous Game: The Third Tanganyika Letter" (July 1934). His second safari in 1953-54 resulted in a noteworthy feature in *Look* magazine, which contains many excellent photographs of Hemingway in Africa. "Safari," *Look,* Volume 18, Number 2 (January 26, 1954).

[948] Source: Wikimedia Commons. This photograph, now in the public domain, is held in the Ernest Hemingway Photograph Collection of the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum (Boston).

possible by a gift of $25,000 from his Uncle to pay for the costs of an African trip.[949] He planned to take his second wife, Pauline, and three friends. Two of them declined, fearing the writer's competitiveness would make the experience intolerable. Charles Thompson, a third friend from Key West, accepted the invitation and accompanied the Hemingways to Africa, discovering later that the first two friends had been wiser. The party departed in August and spent several months in Europe before sailing from Marseilles to Mombasa and then traveling by train to Nairobi, where they arrived on December 8. While awaiting the arrival of his professional hunter, Philip Percival (the "dean of the white hunters"), Hemingway and his guests spent time at Percival's farm in Machakos (twenty miles from Nairobi) with the guide's wife, Vivienne. While at the farm, Hemingway befriended Alfred Vanderbilt, who was waiting for his own guide, Bror Blixen, Percival's partner.

Despite traveling via Mombasa and outfitting with a Nairobi-based firm, Hemingway spent most of his safari in Tanganyika, completing a loop that swept through the central part of the Territory and ended up back at the coastal city of Tanga. Hemingway relished the hunt. He killed three lions, a buffalo, a rhino, a kudu, and twenty-five other animals during seventy-two days in Africa.[950] The competitive writer invariably compared his kills to those bagged by his friend. Hemingway's failure to kill a kudu to equal Charles Thompson's became a theme of competition and jealousy in *Green Hills of Africa*. Indeed, nearly every trophy Thompson bagged exceeded the one obtained by Hemingway, a source of resentment for the writer who considered himself superior in every category. At the end of the hunting safari in February 1934, Hemingway's party traveled north from Tanga to Malindi, on the coast of Kenya, where he joined Bror Blixen and Alfred Vanderbilt at a resort for hunting, fishing, reminiscing, and drinking.

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[949] Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985, 1999), p. 261.
[950] Ibid, p. 263.

The safari was not quite as idyllic as Hemingway's title or text suggests. These green hills of Africa contained tropical diseases and could isolate travelers far from modern medicine. In the middle of January 1934, Hemingway succumbed to a serious attack of amoebic dysentery. First he began to bleed and thought he had a severe case of hemorrhoids. Before long he was having 150 bowel movements a day, and Pauline claimed he was passing nearly a quart of blood each day. His large intestine became infected and prolapsed, dropping three inches out of his body. Quite apart from the pain and discomfort, Hemingway had to face the humiliation of cleaning his prolapsed bowel with soapy water and putting it back in his body. He became bedridden and Percival had to order a private plane to carry Hemingway back to Nairobi, where he was successfully treated, returning to Tanganyika the following week.[951] This would have made entertaining press, but it was not the kind of story Hemingway wanted to tell.

Hemingway wanted to tell a story of Africa that was positive yet serious, a story that reflected his adventures (not misadventures) in the guise of a fictional novel. He proclaimed in the brief Foreword of *Green Hills of Africa* that he had "attempted to write an absolutely true book to see whether the shape of a country and the pattern of a month's action can, if truly presented, compete with a work of the imagination."[952] Even his characters were only thinly fictional. "Pop," the professional guide in *Green Hills of Africa,* was based on Philip Percival, the forty-nine-year old real-life professional hunter. Percival and Pop alike possessed an easy temper and gentle authority, but also toughness and experience. "Pop," and Percival too for that matter, was honorable and strived to uphold certain rules of the game. He "hated to have anything killed except what we were after," Hemingway wrote of Pop, "no killing on the side, no ornamental killing, no killing to kill, only when you wanted it more than you wanted not to

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[951] Ibid, p. 263.
[952] Foreword in Ernest Hemingway, *Green Hills of Africa* (New York: Scribner, 1935, 1963).

kill it, only when getting it was necessary to being first in his trade."[953] This could very well pass as an accurate description of the middle-aged Philip Percival who served for twenty-five years as the President of the East African Professional Hunters' Association and was known for using his charm to restrain the shooting of eager clients. Later Hemingway wrote more to the point that Percival "was [Pauline's] ideal of how a man should be, brave, gentle, comic, never losing his temper, never bragging, never complaining except in a joke, tolerant, understanding, intelligent, drinking a little too much as a good man should, and, to her eyes, very handsome." For him "she had a complete, clear-seeing, absolutely trusting adoration."[954]

Green Hills of Africa was serialized in *Scribner's* magazine for $5,000 and quickly sold 10,550 copies in the first printing.[955] This is a creditable book that has many admirers, but it failed to achieve the same depth of social and cultural commentary that had characterized some of Hemingway's earlier works, such as *Death in the Afternoon* (1932), a non-fiction account of bullfighting in Spain. Despite its commercial success, reviewers were not generally very kind to *Green Hills in Africa*, and Hemingway sank into a deep depression. It was during this time, amidst personal crises as well as depression, that Hemingway penned two classic short stories that derived from his experience on safari, "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" and "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber." Both were made into successful motion pictures, but the latter in particular deserves special comment here owing to its connection to Hemingway's experience in Africa.

"The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" tells the tale of Francis Macomber and his wife, "Margot," on safari in Africa, guided by a professional hunter named Robert Wilson (who was loosely based on John Henry Patterson and Bror Blixen). Francis Macomber shows

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[953] Ibid, p. 16.
[954] Ibid, pp. 51-52.
[955] Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985, 1999), p. 266.

cowardice in the face of a charging lion and is mocked by his wife. It is implied that her love for her husband is insincere and that she sleeps with Wilson. The next day, during a buffalo hunt, Francis Macomber finally shows bravery when a buffalo charges, but he misses his shots. Wilson kills the buffalo at the last moment. Margot fires a shot from behind moments later, hits Francis in the head, and kills him. Although Hemingway states that Margot shot at the buffalo, the circumstances of the story leave her true intentions unresolved. This story, considered one of Hemingway's best on its literary merits, has been much debated owing to the ambiguous motivations of its characters. In fact, Hemingway later revealed in a little-known interview the true end of the story: "Francis' wife hates him because he's a coward. But when he gets his guts back, she fears him so much she has to kill him – shoots him in the back of the head."[956]

"The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" was inspired by a true story that Hemingway heard from his professional hunter. "Like everyone else in Kenya," Jeffrey Meyers, Hemingway's biographer, writes, "[Hemingway] was fascinated by the story of a beautiful wife who had a love affair with a hunter and was involved in the death of her husband. He heard this story from Philip Percival while drinking around the evening campfire (Percival told Patrick [Hemingway] the same story in the 1950s)."[957] The true story involved the famed engineer in the British Army, Lt.-Col. John Henry Patterson (1867-1947), who killed the "Man-eaters of Tsavo" in 1898 and later wrote a best-selling book about the adventures.[958] In March 1908, Patterson, who had been recently appointed the first Game Warden of Kenya, left Nairobi on safari with Audrey James Blyth, a friend and fellow army officer, and Blyth's wife, Ethel. A tragic series of events occurred on this safari that resulted in Blyth's death and caused rumors

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[956] See Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985, 1999), p. 273.
[957] Ibid, p. 268.
[958] J.H. Patterson, *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo* (London: Macmillan, 1907).

to swirl almost as soon as Patterson and Ethel Blyth returned to Nairobi without her husband, who had died of a gunshot wound under mysterious circumstances. Patterson, owing to his official position in the colonial government, duly filed a report on the incident.

Illustration 45: Lt.-Colonel John Henry Patterson became embroiled in a scandal over the death of a comrade on safari under mysterious circumstances.[959]

[959] Source: Wikimedia Commons. The image originally appeared in John Henry Patterson, *With the Judaeans in the Palestine Campaign* (1922).

Several months later James Hayes Sadler, the Governor of the British East Africa Protectorate, relayed Patterson's report that Blyth died on the 21st of March, having "accidentally shot himself in the head with a revolver. Death immediate. He had been ill for two days. Patterson had been with him all night. Accident occurred early in the morning whilst temporarily alone."[960] The scandal was far from over. The provincial commissioner began to find inconsistencies in Patterson's testimony and finally managed to track down the African assistants almost a year later. Their testimonies contradicted Patterson's account. The African witnesses revealed that Patterson and Blyth had quarreled, that Ethel had spent the night in Patterson's tent, and that when Ethel returned to her husband in the morning, a shot rang out from the tent and Blyth was found dead from a gunshot to the mouth. Patterson, according to the African witnesses, cried out "my friend, my friend" after the gunshot, but he then ordered the Africans to bury Blyth deep in the ground and burnt all his belongings and correspondence.

Debate over the conflicting testimonies worked their way to Lord Crewe, the Colonial Secretary, and then to the House of Lords, where Blyth's father held a seat. Ultimately, Crewe decided to exonerate Patterson to prevent a scandal in East Africa, and also to protect the family of one of the members of the House of Lords, in return for Patterson's resignation. He was also unwilling to expose Ethel Blyth's adultery on the testimony of native Africans. Crewe spoke about the case at length in the House of Lords (reported in *The Times* of London in April 1909), referring to "rumours of a damaging and even of a sinister character," but he assured the lords that he had "examined all the documents relating to the case" and found "no tinge of evidence… to connect Colonel Patterson in any way to the cause of Mr. Blyth's death."[961] Privately officials were more circumspect. Sadler warned that Patterson's return to the colony would "result in an outburst in the Press and elsewhere causing scandal of the most acute

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[960] Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985, 1999), p. 268.
[961] Ibid, pp. 270-71.

description."[962] The rumors destroyed Patterson's career and followed him until he died in Los Angeles in 1947.

It is probable that Percival and Hemingway together speculated about what actually happened to Blyth, and that this ambiguity found its way into Hemingway's short story. In any case Hemingway was interested in the story of Patterson. There is certainly evidence of Ethel's infidelity. Whether Blyth committed suicide out of despair or to punish his wife for infidelity, or whether he died at the hands of his wife (or Patterson), is a matter of speculation, but either way the familiar trope of the treacherous wife on safari was established and in fact fitted well with Hemingway's own misogynistic views of women.[963] Hemingway changed the details of the story, but, as his biographer notes, he "kept the African setting, the love triangle, the tough characters of the wife and the hunter, and their callousness toward the husband."[964]

Other famous personages had made the African (really the Kenyan) safari popular throughout the West by taking pictures and films of it, or by going there and precipitating a flurry of newspaper reports about their activities, but Hemingway added to the publicity of the safari experience by writing his own stories, which combined vivid descriptions of the place and the safari experience with compelling tales of adventure, betrayal, and tragedy. As the writer Christopher Ondaatje remarks, with some justification: "More than any other writer, including [Karen] Blixen, Hemingway established Africa in the American consciousness. He made it into a land of mystery and adventure," rather like H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* had in the nineteenth century. "Hemingway's African writings and the films based on

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[962] Ibid, p. 271.

[963] American women, Hemingway wrote in "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," are "the hardest in the world; the hardest, the cruelest, the most predatory and the most attractive and their men have softened or gone to pieces nervously as they have hardened." Ernest Hemingway, *The Snows of Kilimanjaro and Other Stories* (New York: Scribner, 1995), p. 126.

[964] Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985, 1999), p. 272.

his safari stories made African tourism fashionable in America."[965] Many safari outfitters to this day offer "Hemingway safaris" that strive to reproduce the Hemingway experience for modern tourists. As one guide remarked, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Prince of Wales might have made Africa attractive to the rich elite, but it was Hemingway who really popularized it as a desirable tourist destination."[966]

Hemingway's writings also became popular film adaptations in later years, extending the influence of his stories. *The Macomber Affair* was released in 1947, starring Gregory Peck and Joan Bennett, and directed by Zoltan Korda. *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* became a Hollywood film in 1952, starring Gregory Peck, Susan Hayward, and Ava Gardner, one of the most successful Hollywood productions of the early 1950s. It is true, of course, that the publicity effects of these iterations of Hemingway's work became evident at a later time – in the 1940s, 1950s, and beyond, not in the interwar years – but the theme holds true that Hemingway's writings functioned as publicity for the Kenyan safari from the moment they were published as stories until well into the postwar period. The same was true of Hemingway's second safari in 1953-54, occurring as it did at the peak of the Mau Mau Uprising, when the Kenyan government was eager to use Hemingway's safari to generate favorable publicity for its tourism industry in the face of negative coverage in the international press.

Of course, Hemingway was not the only writer to generate publicity for Kenya through his writings. Although not all of them wrote about safaris or even wildlife expressly, there emerged in the interwar years a genre of popular writing that painted a portrait of Kenya as an idyllic country, full of outstanding personalities and adventurous spirits, and blessed by a

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[965] Christopher Ondaatje, *Hemingway in Africa: The Last Safari* (Woodstock and New York: Overlook Press, 2003), pp. 154-55.
[966] Ibid, p. 155.

pleasant climate, park-like scenery, and manicured English farms, interspersed with some of the world's most magnificent wildlife. During the interwar years this genre was typified by the Danish writer Karen Blixen, who penned the best-selling account, *Out of Africa,* in 1937 under the pseudonym Isak Dinesen, later to be made into a major motion picture in 1985 starring Meryl Streep and Robert Redford. It was an added benefit for the safari industry that two of the leading characters in *Out of Africa,* Bror Blixen (Karen's husband) and Denys Finch Hatton (Karen's lover), were distinguished professional hunters who took Karen hunting and furnished much of the romance (figurative as well as real) that featured so prominent in her stories. This book achieved immediate acclaim from critics as well as commercial success and helped to establish Blixen as a writer, both in the English-speaking world and in her native Denmark. Hemingway was one of many admirers of Blixen's writing. He wrote wrote, during his acceptance speech for the Nobel prize in 1954, of "that beautiful writer Isak Dinesen."[967] When Blixen saw his tribute, she wrote him a letter to express her appreciation. His comments, she said, gave her "as much heavenly pleasure – even if not as much earthly benefit – as would have done the Nobel Prize itself… It is a sad thing we have never met in the flesh. I have sometimes imagined what it would have been like to be on safari with you on the plains of Africa."[968] Later, during and after the Second World War, other writers penned noteworthy portraits of Kenya, including Beryl Markham's *West with the Night* (1942), Elspeth Huxley's *Flame Trees of Thika* (1959), and Joy Adamson's *Born Free* (1960).

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The precise effects on the inflow of tourists to Kenya that resulted from these celebrity safaris and filmmaking expeditions is hard to measure in the unsettled economic conditions of the interwar years, but there can be no doubt that they had a beneficial effect on a tourism

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[967] Ibid, p. 176.
[968] Judith Thurman, *Isak Dinesen: The Life of a Storyteller* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), p. 385.

industry that was then coming to maturity. Filmmaking expeditions and high-profile safaris brought big business to the safari industry at a time when the usual clientele was otherwise indisposed. They maintained and even increased the experience and reputation of professional hunters and other employees of the industry, a key source of advantage in later years. Most of all, of course, as this chapter has aimed to establish, these high-profile safaris and filmmaking expeditions generated invaluable publicity for Kenya's safari industry at a time when it was coping with a stagnant inflow of visitors and the economic troubles of the Great Depression. By raising interest in Africa's wildlife, by making Kenya known among potential tourists, and by sustaining Kenya's legendary safari industry, these luxury safaris and filmmaking expeditions played an important role in the colony's future success as a tourist destination.

Chapter 9: The Industry Reaches Maturity: Professional Associations, the Quest for National Parks, and the Embrace of Mass Tourism in the 1930s

The 1930s marked a period of change and upheaval for Kenya's safari tourism industry. The economic woes of the Great Depression that began in 1929 afflicted the entire world and ensured that fewer members of the global, mostly-Western elite set aside time and money for luxury travel and exotic safaris. And yet, despite these economic troubles – in fact partly because of them – East Africa's safari industry entered a period of consolidation and revitalization that prepared it to thrive in the age of mass tourism to come. One aspect of this, as we have seen, was the attempt to expand the range of safari services to include other kinds of non-hunting experiences. This chapter extends the theme by showing how the 1930s represented not so much an era of economic success as an occasion for the safari tourism industry to build institutions, frame improved policies, and embrace new opportunities in order to cope with the trying times of the economic slump.

This chapter examines three major developments of the 1930s that played especially vital roles in the future of Kenya's tourism industry. The first involved the establishment of professional and publicity associations that sought to organize and improve the industry and promote it overseas. Although these associations had barely become established by the outbreak of the Second World War, they laid a foundation upon which future endeavors could build. The second development was the advent of civilian air transport in both East Africa and across the globe, a development that originated outside the safari industry but was quickly adopted by purveyors of the safari. Air travel, like the railways and automobiles that preceded it, shrank time and distance and pointed to a future in which the safari experience in Africa became ever more accessible to travelers. Finally, the 1930s ushered in the first decisive steps toward realizing the long-held dream of creating national parks in East Africa. This dream was

finally achieved after 1945 when national parks were established on a permanent basis, destined to become the leading attractions in East Africa and the central pillar of the region's modern tourism industry. Thus, by the end of the 1930s, Kenya's safari industry had consolidated its advantages, revitalized its institutions and membership, adapted to changes, and in general modernized itself in ways that would prepare the industry to thrive in the period after 1945.

The background to these developments was, of course, the Great Depression of the 1930s, which loomed over the thirties like a pall of dark clouds. The history of the Depression is so well known among historians and laypeople alike that a detailed description is unnecessary, but several points must be emphasized. In East Africa, as elsewhere throughout the world, the collapse of markets that began in 1929 caused a catastrophic fall in the prices of goods and commodities. Primary products, including the export crops of East Africa, experienced especially dramatic declines, and suffered from slower recoveries than the manufactured goods of the West. By 1930, about half of Kenya's 2,000 white farmers depended on the sale of maize, but its price fell from 12 shillings a bag in 1930 to 3 shillings by 1935. The corresponding price of wheat fell from 19 to 6 shillings during the same period.[969] Coffee, sisal, and cotton also experienced declines, but somewhat less serious than those of maize and wheat.

The combination of high debt and low prices became so serious that about 20 percent of Kenya's white farmers gave up and abandoned their farms. Many of those who remained could no longer pay their mortgages and debts, and depended heavily on aid from the colonial government amounting to nearly £1,000,000. The Agricultural Advance Ordinance of 1930 provided immediate financial assistance. After 1934 this role was assumed by the new Land

[969] Roger M.A. van Zwanenberg, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 209.

and Agricultural Bank, which provided long-term, low-interest loans to farmers. Between 1936 and 1938, the government added mortgage relief legislation to prevent farms being taken over by lenders.[970] The response of many Kenyan farmers to the collapse of prices was to increase production by whatever means to pay down their debts. The results, as elsewhere in the world, particularly in the parched American West, was for farmers to work the land to dust and ruinously to exploit soil fertility to keep their heads above the slough. Meanwhile, government radically curtailed social services, adversely affecting Africans in particular, while civil servants faced retrenchment to reduce the obligations on the budget. Kenya's economy was further hampered after 1930 by the need to raise taxes to meet the growing budget deficit.[971] Of course, as we have already seen in the game license statistics, the global economic crisis had a serious negative effect on the flow of hunters to East Africa, and this compounded the problems the region already faced.

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One of the major results of the economic depression that gripped East Africa in the early 1930s was the foundation of the East African Professional Hunters' Association (EAPHA) in 1934. A.T.A. Ritchie, the Chief Game Warden of Kenya, wrote shortly after its foundation:

> East Africa has been fortunate to boast, for the last thirty-odd years, a considerable number of men of outstanding skill in hunting and field craft who spend all or most of their time looking after the safety and comfort of visiting sportsmen. The record of this glamorous band is an enviable one, and its history, if ever it comes to be written, will make proud and enthralling reading.[972]

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[970] Ibid, p. 209.
[971] M.F. Hill, *Permanent Way: The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway* (Nairobi: East African Railways and Harbours, 1949), p. 495.
[972] *Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1932, 1933, and 1934*, A.T.A. Ritchie, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935).

The Association was designed to serve as an umbrella organization for the safari industry, to promote the conservation of wild animals in cooperation with the game departments, to uphold a high standard of sportsmanship, to promote the interests of its members, and to disseminate information about the safari industry to interested parties overseas. The EAPHA very quickly came to include among its membership every individual and enterprise of importance in the East African safari trade, giving it the power to influence policy, set certain rules of conduct, and eventually to act as a publicity agency for foreign parties interested in a safari. This influence allowed the Association to become an important point of contact between the safari industry, the government (in the form of the game departments), conservationists both foreign and domestic, and the wider public overseas.

The formation of such an Association for professional hunters and their affiliated enterprises had been proposed two decades before, and this served as an important precedent in the 1930s when the idea was finally revived. In 1912, R.B. Woosnam, the chief game warden of the British East Africa Protectorate, had announced his intention to establish in the coming year a "Professional White Hunters' or Guides' Association" to represent the interests of those involved in the industry. "Practically every shooting party which visits the Protectorate," Woosnam explained, "engage the services of a white hunter who acts as guide, manages the transport details of the caravan, and takes the sportsman to the various districts where the different varieties of game are to be obtained."[973] Since large and growing numbers of sportsmen were visiting the country to go on safari, it became necessary to ensure that visitors could enlist the guidance of a professional and experienced man who could "fulfill certain conditions" and "show that they are qualified to act as competent guides and hunters."[974]

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[973] "Annual Report of Game Warden, 1910-11 & 1911-12" (R.B. Woosnam), Reel 53, *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
[974] Ibid.

By acting as a gatekeeper to the occupation, a Professional Hunters' Association could ensure that members met a high standard of conduct and possessed sufficient experience. An Association could furnish lists of reliable outfitters and safari companies to the tourist. It could cooperate with the colonial game departments and ensure that hunting regulations were observed. And it could enhance the future prospects of the safari industry by guaranteeing that clients from overseas had the best experience possible under the guidance of a thoroughly vetted professional.

This initiative, which originated with the Game Department, was not entirely free of self-interest. Woosnam and his game rangers considered that a hunters' association promised a direct benefit to their department, which was chronically short of funds to carry out its charges. Sponsoring an autonomous professional hunters' association promised to fulfill several pertinent objectives at no cost to the government. In the first place, as the Woosnam explained in the annual report, it would "prevent unintentional breaches of the regulations" and "discourage unnecessary slaughter" by creating a class of professional guides "thoroughly acquainted with the game regulations" of the Protectorate. Making the privilege of guiding safaris contingent upon their behavior would provide an incentive to professional hunters to keep their clients in compliance with the law. Second, these hunters could, under the auspices of the association, "[furnish] to the game department reports as to the numbers and conditions of game in the various shooting grounds," in return for the assistance the Game Department offered in vetting applications for membership in the association.[975]

Third, an association could create and enforce professional standards. It could restrict access to the occupation by requiring all professional guides to register as members of the association. Professional guides who allowed their clients to break laws could be expelled

[975] Ibid.

from the association and refused permits to enter closed districts, "which amounts to preventing them being engaged as white hunters." Those deemed unable to "fulfill certain conditions to show that they are qualified to act as competent hunters and guides" could be effectively barred from participating in the safari business.[976] Finally, sportsmen and visiting hunters could be compelled "to engage one of the members of the Association as his guide" before permissions were granted to certain closed areas to ensure that hunters who gained permission did so with reputable professionals who would observe the Game Department's regulations.

This was, in any case, Woosnam's vision of an association and what it aimed to accomplish. Bringing the association to fruition, however, took another twenty years. Woosnam's plans for an association of professional hunters was set aside following the outbreak of the First World War and not revived again until the early 1930s. To some extent, the impetus for an association simply did not exist for much of the interim period. Woosnam had proposed the association primarily as a means of bolstering the work of the game department in the absence of adequate funding. Yet, at this early date, it was far from obvious that professional hunters themselves had much to gain by the establishment of a new body that represented their common interests.

Before the First World War, most reputable guides in East Africa found their professional needs met by working under the auspices of Newland and Tarlton, which was so large and influential in East Africa that it fulfilled many of the same functions as a professional association. Newland and Tarlton vetted its professional hunters; it represented the interests of its guides; it advertised the industry overseas and thereby gained business for professional hunters; and in general the company kept its guides in compliance with the law, lest the company's international reputation suffer. And while it is true that certain professional hunters

[976] Ibid.

could moonlight before 1914 or even start their own safari businesses, the logistical difficulties of caravan travel and early safari outfitting meant that professional hunters had a very difficult time participating in the industry except under the auspices of Newland and Tarlton, whose managers ensured a certain standard of behavior. Before the First World War, in other words, and even into the 1920s, the urgency to create a professional association simply did not exist because Newland and Tarlton (and later, to a lesser extent, Safariland) already held so much influence over the way the industry operated.

This situation had changed by the early 1930s, giving impetus to the formation of a professional hunters' association along the lines Woosnam had proposed. The main reason was connected to the economic depression that gripped the world in the 1930s. Kenya faced particularly acute problems owing to the region's reliance on agricultural exports, which remained severely depressed throughout the 1930s. Many farmers, settlers, and other white residents in East Africa, lacking jobs and struggling to find a profitable market for their crops, sought to supplement their incomes by participating in the local safari industry as guides. At the same time, the widespread adoption of the automobile reduced logistical difficulties and made it far easier for such individuals to fulfill the basic requirements of safari transport and supply, regardless of their experience. As a result of these developments, the ranks of professional hunters became swollen with inexperienced individuals vying to secure clients, increasing competition for what was already a reduced number of tourists in the hard years of the Depression. Veterans of the safari industry later recalled that this freelance industry grew to such an extent that it damaged the interests of the safari trade.[977] Tourists arriving at hotels in Nairobi, preparing to go on safari, were frequently approached by locals who represented themselves as experienced hunters even when they were not. Consequently, many visitors who

[977] Vivian Ward, Letter to the Editorial Department, *The Times* [London], 24 March 1958.

went on safari with imposters had disappointing safaris and complained to the game wardens and the press about their misfortunes in East Africa.

Under these circumstances, A.T.A. Ritchie, the chief game warden, called together all the reputable professional hunters in the region and suggested they form an association to safeguard their interests and ensure a high quality of experience for the wealthy visitors whose contributions to the East African economy had never been more valuable.[978] Although the game warden could not, in his official capacity, recommend individual hunters, he could refer tourist enquiries to an association that would ensure that visitors enlisted the help of reputable professional guides who were accountable to an association of their peers. Members of an association, for their part, benefited from having clients directed to them instead of spending their money on pretenders. "It is a great pity," Ritchie wrote after the Association's foundation, "that, until 1934, there was, save their common profession, no sort of bond or unit within which to include the interests of our 'white hunters.' The inauguration of the Professional Hunters' Association at long last remedied this."[979]

Ritchie's role in the foundation of the EAPHA established a longstanding relationship between the Association and the Kenya Game Department that did not begin to wane until independence approached in the later 1950s. The Secretary of the EAPHA wrote in 1936, two years after its foundation, that "the inception of the Association was largely due to him, and

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[978] Those present at the founding meeting on 12 April 1934 were: G.H. Anderson, Philip Percival, A.J. Klein, A.F. Ayre, Sydney Waller, G.R. Runton, O.M. Rees, Donald Ker, Leslie Tarlton, J.R. Lucy, Andrew Fowle, Vivian Ward, Dacre Shaw, and Tom Murray Smith. The original attendees were *invited*, but once the Association was formed, it allowed professional hunter applications from anyone, provided they could find a nominator and seconder among the existing members – not always an easy task. This condition ensured that the EAPHA remained a fairly exclusive club even though it appeared, on the face of it, to be open and inclusive. Minutes of Meeting held at Norfolk Hotel, 12 April 1934. Box 16, *Records of the East African Professional Hunters' Association,* Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida at Gainesville.

[979] *Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1932, 1933, and 1934*, A.T.A. Ritchie, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935).

from the first his advice, cooperation, and encouragement have been of the greatest assistance."[980] The Game Department largely felt the same appreciation for its new partner:

> Every year since its inauguration, the [East African Professional Hunters' Association] has cooperated increasingly with this Department. I am very happy to report that today this cooperation is of a most intimate and friendly nature. On every occasion when assistance has been required… [it] has always been forthcoming.[981]

In addition to providing assistance along the lines described above, members of the EAPHA populated the ranks of the Game Department's "Honorary Game Wardens," positions created to confer a measure of authority upon individuals interested in game conservation without the usual financial burdens of additional employees. The Game Department concluded that "the interests of the Association and of this Department are absolutely parallel," and that it was "incumbent on both parties to collaborate more and more as the years go by."[982]

The East African Professional Hunters' Association officially came into existence on 12 April 1934.[983] Its founding membership, which included most of the reputable professional hunters of Kenya, consisted of thirteen Full Members and fourteen Probationary members. "This Association," stated an early circular on the foundation of the EAPHA, "is not being formed as a trade's union. [A]ny member of the public who submits his name for the association for membership will be considered… and if his experience warrants election he will be made a member."[984] Yet although applications were nominally open to the public, an applicant could not move past the preliminary stages unless he knew a member within the Association who could nominate and second his application. Once that was achieved, the applicant still had to receive a majority vote. It was therefore easy for existing members to

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[980] J.M. Silvester to Rigby & Co., 16 October 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[981] *Game Department Annual Report* [Kenya], *1936* (F.H. Clarke, Acting Game Warden) (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1937), p. 10.
[982] Ibid.
[983] "The East African Professional Hunters' Association: Constitution and Rules," General Meeting, Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi, 12 April 1934. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[984] Circular on Registration of the EAPHA, March 1934. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.

blackball outsiders and control membership, despite appearing from the outside to be an open club. In practice, succeeding in an application for Full or Probationary Membership meant working for one of the premier safari companies and attaining the respect of the professional hunters involved with the EAPHA.

The EAPHA had in mind a particular type of member. It sought to "encourage the right type of younger man to join," the right type meaning settlers in good standing, or Kenya born whites, preferably of middle- or upper-class status, who possessed a solid record of adherence to the colony's game regulations – members, in other words, who came from gentry, or at least respectable farming families, and observed gentlemanly codes of sportsmanship and fair play.[985] This preference for Kenya-born whites was not simply an informal principle. In an act of great significance, the constitution of the EAPHA affirmed the longstanding racial connotations of the "white hunter" by establishing that "members shall be purely of European origin only."[986] Quite apart from being legally questionable and morally reprehensible, this rule quickly ran into practical difficulties. Several wealthy Indians, including the Maharajahs of Jodhpur and Bikaner, became Honorary Members as early as 1936, a rank of membership that typically involved giving donations to the Association's cause. The EAPHA quickly and silently modified its constitution to allow Honorary Members to be exempt from the racial restriction.[987] The principle was later extended to Associate Members (i.e. usually commercial enterprises with a stake in the safari industry). The money of non-Europeans was good enough, but certain members (perhaps even a majority of them) could not contemplate non-Europeans

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985 Ibid.

986 "The East African Professional Hunters' Association: Constitution and Rules," General Meeting, Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi, 12 April 1934. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*. Determination of whether an applicant qualified as "European" appears to have been informal – whether they looked like a European – but the Association did require applicants to state their nationality on membership application forms.

987 The decision to alter the rules of Class 4 of the Membership of the Association, i.e. Honorary Associates, was taken at a meeting in January 1936, having been raised at the Second Annual General Meeting in April 1935. See Minutes of the Second Annual General Meeting of the EAPHA, 18 April 1936; and Minutes of a Meeting of the EAPHA, 16 January 1936. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.

participating in the industry on equal terms. The same principle applied to women. The original constitution forbid all women from membership, but, when certain wealthy women wished to become Honorary Associates and Associate Members, the EAPHA duly modified its constitutional provisions to allow their benefaction, with the proviso that "they cannot under any circumstances be admitted as Full or Probationary Members of the Association."[988]

The Association's new constitution established four levels of membership that reflected the state of the safari hunting industry in 1934. The highest level of membership, denoted by the title "Full Member," was reserved for experienced veterans of the hunting industry, who had guided safaris for many years, possessed clean records and a good relationship with the game departments, and had proved capable of securing and maintaining a large and distinguished clientele. The EAPHA began with thirteen Full Members in 1934 and gradually increased this number to 22 by the outbreak of war in 1939.[989] The second level of membership consisted of "Probationary Members," defined as a professional hunter working actively as a paid guide but not yet possessing the required amount of experience or clientele to attain a position of leadership in the industry. The EAPHA had only five Probationary Members by its second year, 1935, but this figure rose to eight in 1939.[990] As the name implies, Probationary Members were undergoing a process of informal training and testing (under the supervision of Full Members for whom they worked) to ensure that their character and abilities made them fit for Full Membership. When Probationary Members reached the required amount of experience – at least twelve months in the field as a professional hunter with visiting sportsmen – and wished to become a Full Member, they could be nominated and seconded by existing Full Members. The executive committee would then review the nominee's credentials

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[988] Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 20 August 1936. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[989] President's Annual Reports for 1934 and 1939. Box 15, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[990] Ibid.

and references from several men of good standing before holding a vote to decide whether the applicant met the rigorous standards necessary to enjoy the prestige and legitimacy conferred upon members of that rank.[991] Even a single hunting violation, or collaboration in a violation committed by a client, could be grounds for permanent denial of Full Membership. EAPHA executive committees often delayed votes if there were so much as rumors of unbecoming behavior attached to a nominee, whether in the field or outside it.

The third level of membership consisted of "Associate Members," defined as firms and companies connected to the safari industry through the nature of their business operations, whose commercial activities benefited from the publicity of the Association and the connections it fostered with hunters and tourists overseas. Associate Members included dedicated safari companies as well as outfitters, taxidermists, rail and airline companies, gunsmiths, hotels and lodges, automobile and touring companies, and even travel agencies. By the end of 1935, eight enterprises had joined the EAPHA at this rank. By 1939, the number of Associate Members stood at seventeen.[992] The relationship between Associates and the EAPHA was reciprocal, of course. The Association benefited from the payment of dues from Associate Members and could not have maintained its budget without them. Meanwhile Associate Members enjoyed having their names and addresses listed on EAPHA materials that were circulated to interested clients. With time, as the EAPHA gained prestige, many companies connected to the safari industry paid for membership simply to print the handsome EAPHA badge on their independent advertisements, an added measure of cachet that helped them stand out from the competition when it came to attracting distinguished clientele.[993]

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[991] The EAPHA set the terms what experience was required for Full Membership in April 1937. See Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 17 April 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[992] President's Annual Reports for 1934 and 1939. Box 15, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[993] There was no vetting process for commercial firms (i.e. Associate Members) comparable to those faced by professional hunters, but statements or actions that violated the principles of the EAPHA could be grounds for dismissal.

The fourth level of membership was granted to "Honorary Members" (sometimes called "Honorary Associates" in the EAPHA records), which embraced any individual or organization that avowed support for the aims and objects of the EAPHA, typically through financial donations and public support that advanced the cause of the Association. Most Honorary Members were, in practice, distinguished benefactors and former clients, most of them individuals who wanted to belong to the "club" and receive its printed materials (including newsletters and press releases) in exchange for financial support. Honorary Members played an important role in the early success of the EAPHA by keeping the organization financially solvent. One of the first steps the Association took after its formation in 1934 was to write to acquaintances and friends around the world, many of them former clients of its members, asking them to join the Association and give a donation if able.[994] Such fundraising involved a concerted effort on the part of the EAPHA, undoubtedly the most thankless but also the most important task a young organization undertakes.

Already by 1936, no fewer than 85 names had been proposed for Honorary Membership, and 57 had accepted and become members at that rank.[995] G.H. Anderson, one of the founding members, asked the Prince of Wales, his former client, to become a patron.[996] (The Prince dignified Anderson's request with a reply and expressed support for the aims and objects of the EAPHA, but declined to become a member in any official capacity.) By the outbreak of war in 1939, the Honorary Membership had risen to 81.[997] It obviously went without saying that any behavior or public statements by Honorary Members that contradicted the avowed objects of the EAPHA were grounds for dismissal or censure according to the

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[994] C.M. Cotton to EAPHA, 28 September 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[995] "President's Review of 1936: East African Professional Hunters' Association," *East African Standard* (Saturday, 24 December 1937). Press clipping, Box 15, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[996] "President's First Annual Report for 1934," Box 15, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[997] "President's Sixth Annual Report for 1939," Box 15, *Records of the EAPHA*.

judgment of the executive committee. By the end of 1936, the Association included among its Honorary Members such well-known figures as C.W. Hobley of the Fauna Preservation Society, A. Blayney Percival, Lord Baden-Powell, Richard Meinertzhagen, Ernest Hemingway, Lord Francis Scott, Lord Cranworth, Radclyffe Dugmore, Percy H. Powell-Cotton, F.W. Cavendish Bentinck, and Ewart Grogan, among many others.[998] The game wardens of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda had all become Honorary Members in 1934. At the top of this list, as far as the EAPHA was concerned, was the Governor of Kenya, Sir Joseph Byrne, who honored the Association by becoming a patron and Honorary Member the year it was founded.[999]

The newly formed EAPHA chose as its first president Philip H. Percival, then a man of fifty years who possessed vast experience hunting and guiding and was widely respected by other members of the profession. Percival was the distinguished professional hunter who had gone into partnership with Bror Blixen in the late 1920s. He was one of the few men left in the 1930s who could claim a connection to the legendary Roosevelt safari, and the same man described by Hemingway as the "the finest man that I know" and "also more fun to be with than anyone I know from any war or any peace."[1000] Percival, who became known as the "dean of the white hunters," exerted a decisive influence over the affairs of the new East African Professional Association by serving as its president during the first 25 years of its existence, a remarkably long tenure during its formative phase that speaks to the confidence his leadership commanded.

One of the major campaigns undertaken by the EAPHA that put it in good standing with the game departments of East Africa involved the conservation of wild animals, of which

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[998] EAPHA Membership List, 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[999] *Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1932, 1933, and 1934*, A.T.A. Ritchie, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935).
[1000] Ernest Hemingway, "Safari," *Look,* Volume 18, Number 2 (January 26, 1954), p. 30.

it was a major, sometimes a leading, proponent. It must not be supposed that the EAPHA's vested interest in the practice of hunting made its support for wildlife conservation a matter of hypocrisy or dishonest public relations. As with early British game conservationists in the 1890s and early 1900s, and so still today in organizations like Ducks Unlimited in the United States, hunters often became the most devoted conservationists because they held an interest in seeing wildlife survive for future sport. This principle was intensified for the members of the EAPHA by the fact that its members desired not only to enjoy the sport in the future but also to earn a livelihood that would not exist in the absence of East Africa's game. O.M. Rees, a veteran professional hunter and member of the EAPHA, articulated the logic of conservation for professional hunters in a statement that represents the prevailing attitude:

> It is our object to attract visitors to the colony. A visitor spends money and it is his money we want. Now then what is the 'extra special attraction' we can offer visitors? It is undoubtedly our fauna. Destroy the game and a great attraction is, in my opinion, gone for all times.[1001]

Rees, like others, saw conservation as an urgent necessity, without which Kenya might lose its advantages over other potential tourist destinations. "Kenya is a fine country," he wrote, "blessed with fine scenery and a delightful climate, but there are other countries open to sportsmen and tourists also favored with fine scenery and a good climate." He believed that Kenya was "one of the greatest game countries in the world," which possessed in its wildlife "an asset which should be protected and nursed in every possible way." Since the Game Department was "dreadfully understaffed and starved financially, […] I think it is up to our Association to do all it can to get the existing state of affairs remedied."[1002]

The big ambitions of the EAPHA and the influence it wielded in certain capacities must be balanced against other limitations. The EAPHA was a young association in the 1930s. Its

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[1001] O.M. Rees to J.M. Silvester (Secretary of the EAPHA), 15 October 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1002] Ibid.

first major limitation in the early years was that it operated on a shoestring budget and took time to become widely known outside the Nairobi-based safari industry. Though socially respected and influential within the safari industry, the EAPHA was so starved financially that it continued to rely throughout the 1930s upon the benefaction of the Kenya Association (a body that promoted the interests of settlers and farmers), which supplied the EAPHA with a post office box, typewriter, reduplicating machine, office boys, storage, and office space. The EAPHA considered itself to be "under considerable obligation" to the Kenya Association's charity.[1003]

Another considerable limitation of the EAPHA was that it never managed in the 1930s, despite its best efforts and nominal support of the Kenya Game Department, to obtain "official recognition" from the government, one of the principal aims of the Association. The central aim of this campaign for official recognition was to see legislation passed that would require all professional hunters in East Africa to become licensed to practice their occupation, whereby applicants would be vetted and approved only by members of the East African Professional Hunters' Association working in cooperation with the game departments of the three territories.[1004] Such an arrangement, advocates proclaimed, would make the EAPHA the equivalent of a professional association for doctors, lawyers, or veterinarians, which reserved the power to confer legitimacy upon its members in exchange for special privileges to control access to the profession.[1005] To members of the EAPHA, official recognition seemed an

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[1003] J.M. Silvester to Members of the EAPHA, 16 October 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1004] See, for example, a 1936 EAPHA memo outlining the Association's objective of official recognition: Vivian Ward to J.M. Silvester (Secretary of the EAPHA), 12 March 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1005] The case for official recognition was first outlined at length and given support from Ritchie, the Chief Game Warden, in April 1936. See Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 18 April 1936. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*. The Committee carried the following resolution unanimously: "That this Association believes that it has now proved itself a responsible body and representative of the best elements among the hunting community. It requests the Game Department accordingly to take such measures as may be necessary to place the regulation and control of the personnel accompanying visiting safaris in its hands, believing that this will be in the best interests of the Colony and of the visitors themselves."

entirely reasonable proposition. The Association already enjoyed the informal support of the game departments and had actually been founded at their initiative. Many government officials, including the Governor of Kenya, had expressed their support and donated to the EAPHA's cause already by 1936.[1006]

The problem, as Ritchie explained, was that the Association "was not sufficiently representative" of professional hunters and guides in the region.[1007] This shortcoming had several facets. The first was that the EAPHA failed to secure the full participation and cooperation of professional hunters from territories outside Kenya, particularly Tanganyika, "on account of so little being known about them."[1008] Several professional hunters from Tanganyika were invited to join, by only one, Konrad Schauer, who had been guiding in both territories since before the First World War, accepted and became a Full Member in the 1930s. Part of the problem was that most distinguished professional hunters who advertised safaris in Tanganyika actually lived in Kenya and based their operations out of Nairobi. The main difficulty in Tanganyika, however, involved the large number of small, freelance safari operations that captured a sizable portion of the safari trade but lacked the professional *espirit de corps* needed to create a professional association.

As Ray Ulyate, a Tanganyika-based outfitter complained, in Tanganyika the game department granted professional hunting licenses to whomever applied, "resulting in a number of irresponsible, inexperienced, and incapable persons posing as professional hunters who tout around seeking parties at prices which are far and away below anything which would be accepted by responsible persons of a high standard."[1009] Of course this large contingent of

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[1006] Silvester to F. Pullen, 9 April 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1007] Vivian Ward to J.M. Silvester, 12 March 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1008] Philip Percival, Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 9 November 1936. *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1009] Ray Ulyate to J.M. Silvester, 17 September 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.

"inexperienced" guides existed mainly because Tanganyika's safari industry was simply less well known by the outside world. That is to say, tourists who outfitted their safaris in Tanganyika in the 1930s were very often taking their chances on a relatively unknown quantity, and this made it difficult for the reputable guides to stand out from the rest. Until such time as the EAPHA could induce these "inexperienced" guides to join the Association (if they could even meet membership standards), the EAPHA could not claim fully to represent the profession across the whole region, as it allegedly intended to do.

Indeed, the quest to achieve official recognition presented a conundrum that dogged the entire history of the EAPHA. On the one hand, the Association needed to be representative of all the reputable professional hunters in the region. On the other hand, it needed to uphold standards and exert influence over the actions of its members. Was the EAPHA to represent the "best elements" of the professional hunting fraternity, which necessarily made it an elite, exclusive club? Or was it to be broadly representative of the whole occupation? Government representatives in the Game Department appeared to expect both objectives to be achieved at once, but they were mutually incompatible. A cynic could reasonably suppose that government *always* wanted the EAPHA to behave a certain way, and that it held out carrots to ensure cooperation; but that government *never* intended to relinquish effective control over who participated in the occupation. Despite the semblance of cooperation between the game department and the EAPHA, some evidence suggests that relations were never as good as it appeared. The acting game warden admitted to the Colonial Secretary in 1938: "Both Capt. Ritchie and myself say nice things about the East African Professional Hunters' Association, but, to be perfectly truthful, with the exception of perhaps two… I would not trust the members of the Association for an instant unless I was right on the spot watching them."[1010]

[1010] F. Clarke to the Colonial Secretary, 3 May 1938, KNA: KW/27/2. Quoted in Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), p. 136.

In any case, the same problem that weakened the EAPHA's influence in Tanganyika existed on a smaller scale in Kenya. A few well-known professional hunters in Kenya declined to join the Association.[1011] The number was very small, and some were compelled to join after a few years, but this fact provided the Kenya Game Department with justification to withhold "official recognition" through the 1930s. The EAPHA's case was damaged in particular by its failure to enlist Alan Black. Having started his career in the late 1890s as Lord Delamere's guide in Somaliland (when Black was probably in his early twenties), Alan Black by the 1930s was among the most renowned professional hunters alive anywhere in Africa, and also the longest serving veteran of the occupation. "We youngsters practically bowed to Alan Black's shadow," remarked Philip Percival, the president of the EAPHA.[1012]

Black's fame was such that when he walked down the street in Nairobi, people would stare and point, and some brave souls would angle for a word with the great man – which he almost never allowed, certainly not if the press was involved. He was highly coveted as a guest in elite social circles in the United Kingdom. In addition to his renown, Black looked every bit the part. He was lean, muscular, strong-jawed, perpetually tanned and swarthy but with piercing blue eyes, and always costumed in a wide-brimmed hat and khaki field clothes. In another life, he could have been the ideal face of the Marlboro Man. He was so physically vigorous that he did not retire from the strenuous life of guiding and ivory hunting until around age 70, and until then he could easily wear his companions into the ground. Emily Host, who conducted interviews with many famous professional hunters at mid century, remarked that

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[1011] Minutes of a Committee Meeting, 10 April 1935. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1012] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of the Early East African Professional Hunters* (Dannevirke, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 58.

"Black was to East Africa what Selous and Pretorius were to South Africa – something more than a legend."[1013]

It was therefore a matter of great concern that Alan Black not only declined to join the Association but maintained a cold distance. If the world's most renowned professional hunter did not join for "professional" reasons, what did that say about the EAPHA's ability to represent the industry? If, on the other hand, he did not join for "personal" reasons, what did that say about the professionalism of the Association? This was how it appeared, in any case, to the Game Department and other outsider observers. The EAPHA was tight-lipped about the reasons Black did not join. The most admitted in the records was by J.M. Silvester, the secretary, who remarked: "I know from private sources that the Association is by no means *persona grata* with Black."[1014]

The reason for Black's refusal to join the EAPHA almost certainly had to do with his unapologetic attitude about ivory poaching, which fell afoul of the EAPHA's avowed principles. "Of course I used to poach ivory," he told Emily Host. "They caught up with me several times but my lawyers were too good… they never got me, I mean, they never proved it."[1015] Such behavior could not be tolerated by the EAPHA if it was to maintain its standing with the game departments. It may also have been the case that Black saw the Association's members as hypocrites who spoke with high ideals but failed to live them out ("I doubt if there was ever a hunter worth his salt who didn't [poach elephant]," he said).[1016] Or, in addition to

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[1013] Alan Black was allergic to publicity and self-promotion. Despite being world famous and recognized everywhere he went, Black never published anything, he told his friends very little, he kept the location of his residence secret, and the only reliable information that exists about him was collected in a few short interviews by Emily Host, conducted mainly in the 1940s and early 1950s, when she lived in Kenya. The book was published posthumously in Host's native New Zealand decades after her premature death. See Ibid, p. 55.

[1014] J.M. Silvester to E.C.B. Elliott, 21 October 1938. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.

[1015] Emily Host, *Bwana Bunduki: A History of the Early East African Professional Hunters* (Dannevirke, NZ: Quartz Publishing, 2007), p. 59.

[1016] Ibid, p. 59.

this conflict over principles, perhaps Black simply did not see the point of a professional association, and its leaders, irked by his dismissal of what they believed was a noble project, had a falling out over the matter. In any case, the failure of Black and other respected professional hunters to join the Association actively worked against the EAPHA's campaign to obtain official recognition from government in the 1930s.

There was one further difficulty. The EAPHA's scheme for official recognition needed the game departments to grant them power over the licensing of professional hunters, but it was by no means straightforward to define which guides should be required to take out such a license. It was easy enough to say that all *hunting* guides must take out a professional hunting license, but the safari trade was rapidly changing in the 1930s and no longer consisted of hunting safaris alone. Should the leaders of photographic safaris be required to take out a professional hunting license? They worked under similar conditions and often encountered dangerous game that sometimes needed to be shot to protect the client. On the other hand, creating stringent rules for the leaders of photographic safaris would discourage a new branch of the industry that the game departments were keen to promote. And what about the "farmers" and "locals" the Outspan hired to accompany camping and photographic trips? Were these individuals to be subject to the approval of the EAPHA? A similar ambiguity concerned the local white settlers who opened their land to sportsmen and occasionally acted as a guide to visiting hunters. The vast and growing number of informal arrangements made between visiting tourists and local "guides" were difficult to define and even harder to regulate and tended to delay the day when professional hunting licenses were introduced.[1017]

[1017] In later years, the Kenya Game Department began granting "Unrestricted Assistant's Permits" that functioned as a license for professional guides. Although the EAPHA never gained official recognition even after the Second World War, it had a gentleman's agreement with the Game Department whereby the EAPHA would vet novice guides and test them before *recommending* to the Game Department that they be awarded an Unrestricted Assistant's Permit. Often the Game Warden or his deputy would sit in on these EAPHA meetings and participate in the deliberations over an individual's application. Such terms did not exist during the 1930s, but the ideas behind them were germinating.

Despite these growing pains, the East African Professional Hunters' Association would become the leading organization for hunting safaris in East Africa, its influence reaching a peak in the 1950s and largely continuing, with only a few exceptions, until its dissolution in 1977 following the ban of all hunting in Kenya. Over the years its influence grew and membership became almost a prerequisite for commercial success in the sport hunting industry. And although the EAPHA never gained the coveted legal privilege of controlling the issue of licenses for professional hunters, the Association did nevertheless consult closely with the Game Department in an advisory capacity, at times attaining an almost cartel-like power over participation in the occupation.

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Tourism in East Africa was never limited to hunting safaris alone, of course, nor even to photographic safaris of the traditional kind. The East African Professional Hunters' Association could not possibly represent all of the enterprises concerned with the region's general tourism industry. A more wide-ranging and heterogeneous organization was needed, one concerned less with the interests of professional hunters and game conservation, and more with the promotion of East African tourism and the accommodation of travelers who visited as tourists for more general reasons. The first step toward fulfilling this need was taken in 1938 with the formation of the little-known East Africa Publicity Association, the first government-sponsored agency charged with promoting East African tourism in all its varieties. The East Africa Publicity Association was short-lived, operating for less than a year before its functions were interrupted by the Second World War, but it marked an important milestone in East Africa's tourism industry, when the scale of the industry and its potential profitability began to gain the notice of governments across the region. In addition to breaking the ice, as it were, and getting East African governments actively involved in the promotion of tourism, the East Africa Publicity Association left a lasting imprint that eclipsed all others. By establishing a

framework, drawing up a constitution and set of objectives, and enlisting a staff of capable individuals, the East Africa Publicity Association laid the foundations for the establishment after the war of the East African Tourist Travel Association, whose activities became instrumental in the promotion of tourism across the region during the postwar years.

The East Africa Publicity Association began as a modest affair that aimed primarily to undertake the organized promotion of tourism in East Africa. The first step in its formation came in 1937 from the private initiative of Major Ferdinand William Cavendish Bentinck, the 8th Duke of Portland, who had previously served as the private secretary of the Governor of Uganda. Cavendish Bentinck began writing letters to the governments concerned and by March 1938 convened a meeting in Nairobi to discuss the terms of the Publicity Association's formation.[1018] Although many others in East Africa shared his interest of promoting tourism, it undoubtedly helped the cause that Cavendish Bentinck came from a prominent British family that made his name known among all the imperial elites, a family that included prime ministers and many MPs, and was related to the royal family.

The representatives at this meeting decided to form a central organization that represented the interests of all four East African territories, to take the form of a company without share capital. The East African Publicity Association thereby became a government-sponsored private company presided over by four trustees who represented the four governments of East Africa.[1019] George Spence was chosen as the first Secretary at the end of October 1938. An elected executive committee of nine was chosen shortly thereafter, representing the four East African governments, the railway companies of Kenya and Tanganyika, the shipping companies serving East African ports, East African newspaper

[1018] Chairman's Annual Report (F.W. Cavendish Bentinck), East Africa Publicity Association, 31 August 1939. KNA: AE/32/9.
[1019] See especially the "Articles of Association of the East Africa Publicity Association" (1938); and "Memorandum of Association of the East Africa Publicity Association" (1938). KNA: AE/32/9.

proprietors, the Uganda Chambers of Commerce, the Royal East African Automobile Association, Imperial Airways, Thos. Cook & Son, and the East African Professional Hunters' Association. The East Africa Publicity Association's operations were funded mainly by government. In 1939, its first full year in operation, the Publicity Association received £2,000 from Kenya, £1,000 from Uganda, £1,000 from Tanganyika, and £50 from Zanzibar.[1020] The Publicity Association officially began operations in April 1939.[1021]

In the first year of its existence, the main affairs of the Publicity Association involved establishing a Press Office in London "responsible for sending out as widely as possible information of every kind regarding the affairs of East Africa, and responsible also for maintaining a central enquiry bureau for the use of newspapers and their correspondents."[1022] The objective, of course, sought not only to attract visitors and settlers, but also to "dispel the haze of obscurity and misunderstanding" that many people in Europe held about the conditions in Britain's East African territories. This Press Office began work in June 1939 and obtained 55 references to East Africa in the press in connection to tourism during June, 153 in July, and 252 in August.[1023] The Publicity Association anticipated the day when it could undertake direct advertising, but, in the meantime, it relied on such publicity articles, and also sent several hundred thousand copies of the 1938 *East African Annual* to Great Britain, India, North America, South Africa, Rhodesia, the Congo, and elsewhere. It further published an "East African Supplement" in the *British South African Annual,* and considered both publications to

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[1020] [Illegible], Commissioner of Lands and Settlement to the Chief Secretary, Nairobi, 10 October 1939. KNA: AE/32/9.
[1021] Chairman's Annual Report (F.W. Cavendish Bentinck), East Africa Publicity Association, 31 August 1939. KNA: AE/32/9.
[1022] Ibid.
[1023] Chairman's Annual Report (F.W. Cavendish Bentinck), East Africa Publicity Association, 31 August 1939. KNA: AE/32/9.

carry "the highest publicity value" and "a length of life far beyond that of a daily, weekly or even monthly publication."[1024]

Emphasis must be laid upon the operative word in the name of the association and the guiding objective of its representatives. "Publicity" meant exactly what it said. The object was not to *advertise* in the strict commercial sense, but rather to gain the attention of the media, to disseminate information about East Africa and its opportunities for tourism, and in general to promote the tourism industry with articles and pamphlets. The reason for this approach owed largely to the desire to operate economically at a time when commercial advertising was cost-prohibitive for East Africa's companies and associations alike. In 1937, around the time the Publicity Association was founded, a quarter page advertisement in *National Geographic* magazine, which had a circulation of about 90,000 copies per issue, cost $700 for one-quarter of a page (approximately *pro rata* for full, half, or one-eighth pages), a considerable sum at the time. The *Atlantic Monthly* charged $117.50 for the same space, and *Harper's Magazine* $112.50. For one-eighth of a page, an advertisement so small as barely to get noticed, *Fortune* charged $175 and *Outdoor Life* $136.50.[1025] Sustaining an advertising program along these lines could quickly consume the several thousand pounds the Publicity Association had received from the territorial governments. Under these conditions, it was far more sensible to promote East Africa's attractions by placing favorable publicity articles and select pamphlets where they could gain the most notice at the least possible cost.

The Publicity Association also worked to improve the availability of information for visitors in East Africa itself. Shortly after its foundation, the Association organized a Tourist Information Office in the Kilindini Port Area to provide newcomers with all the pertinent

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[1024] Ibid.

[1025] Memo, Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, "British East African Dependencies: Estimate for Advertising in U.S.A. for one year," 10 June 1937. The estimates were sent by G.I. Lloyd of Export Advertising Service. KNA: AWS/26/7.

information needed for their travels. The Uganda Railways Administration offered excellent premises rent-free. Unfortunately, before the Information Office could begin its operations, the premises and staff were taken over for military purposes.[1026] Meanwhile, despite this setback, the Association moved forward with collecting information and preparing for publication a series of booklets and handbooks on fishing, big-game hunting, mountaineering, coast sightseeing, and other attractions available to the tourist. It provided a number of East African films to the Swiss Trade Representative to be shown in Switzerland and planned to do the same in other countries. It prepared window displays for leading Tourist Agencies in England, South Africa, and the United States. The Publicity Association also built a relationship with the Colonial Empire Marketing Board. The Association even strived to attract visitors from India, South Africa, the Rhodesias, the Belgian Congo, and elsewhere in the region, and hoped that even during the war people on leave from those places – particularly British soldiers and civil servants – could be induced to spend their leave in East Africa rather than hazard the journey to war-torn Europe.[1027] Enquiries began to come to the office from individual tourists as well as travel agents, private companies, and government branches.[1028]

The East African Publicity Association suspended its operations almost immediately following the outbreak of war in September 1939, for the primary reason that spending money on publicity would be fruitless when the countries of origin of most tourists had become preoccupied with war. The Publicity Association desired to maintain a skeletal staff and continue publicity schemes with its remaining funds so that it could be ready to resume operations once the war ended, but the efforts were largely in vain, and government requested

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[1026] Ibid.
[1027] George Spence to Major Cavendish Bentick, 28 November 1939. KNA: AE/32/9.
[1028] Ibid.

that the Association return a portion of its funds until operations could resume.[1029] Once Cavendish Bentinck left to become Chairman of the Agricultural Production and Settlement Board of Kenya (1939-1945), and wartime conditions made tourist travel more difficult, the East Africa Publicity Association fell into abeyance.

Ultimately, the significance of the East Africa Publicity Association lies not so much in what it accomplished during its year of operations as in the groundwork it laid as the forerunner to the larger, better funded, and more expansive East Africa Tourist Travel Association (EATTA), founded in 1948. Already by 1944 the Publicity Association had begun making recommendations for a revived association that could plan for what it expected to be a "very considerable Tourist Traffic" after the war.[1030] Its ambitions had grown. It desired funds from government to cover publicity, construct adequate access roads, open up places of interest, and provide (or subsidize) suitable accommodation for tourists in hotels and rest camps throughout East Africa. In the event, the territorial governments as well as commercial sponsors thought it advisable to form a new organization that held expanded powers and better represented all four territories. In May 1948, the East Africa Tourist Travel Association officially came into existence, with grants from the East African governments and the East African Railways and Harbours totaling about £16,000. The governments promised future subventions of approximately £5,000 annually.[1031] During the postwar period, the EATTA became the leading association of its kind in East Africa. In addition to promoting tourism through publicity and advertising, it conducted research, standardized tourist recordkeeping (in

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[1029] See especially Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the East African Publicity Association (Memorial Hall, Nairobi), 7 September 1939. KNA: AE/32/9. The EAPA resolved in July 1940 to return half the funds, following considerable debate between the Association and government representatives.

[1030] Memorandum Submitted to the Chairman of the East African Governors' Conference by the Secretary of the E.A. Publicity Association (E.M. Gare), 12 March 1945. KNA: AE/32/9.

[1031] Minutes of the Second Annual General Meeting of the EATTA, 17 May 1950. KNA: AWS/3/94.

cooperation with the East Africa Statistical Department), provided information to interested parties, and made recommendations to regional governments as well as commercial firms on ways to attract, accommodate, and cater to tourist visitors whose numbers grew larger year by year.

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The third major development unfolding in the 1930s that exerted a profound influence on the future of tourism in Kenya involved the advent of commercial air travel. It became obvious during the interwar years that the modes of transportation in East Africa were on the cusp of being revolutionized for the third time in a space of forty years by the advance of aircraft technology and the introduction of civilian flight routes in Africa. Travel itself had always been a central and defining characteristic of tourism. Any changes to the way travel occurred led naturally to equivalent changes in the possibilities available to the tourist. Although new transport technologies were developed elsewhere for reasons that had little to do with tourism, the leaders of East Africa's safari industry readily grasped the advantages of new technologies and adapted them to local purposes.

The close relationship that developed between the safari industry and flight owed much to the nature of the clientele. Few people in the 1930s could afford to fly in a commercial transport aircraft, much less in a small charter plane, but those with the means to go on safari typically possessed the means to get there on a plane. Moreover, flight held obvious advantages over other means of transport that made it particularly well suited to the conditions of safari travel East Africa. Much of the countryside in the highlands of Kenya, particularly to the north and west of Nairobi, consists of rolling hills that stretch for miles like giant ripples, punctuated by high mountains and fast-flowing rivers. Road construction over such terrain was difficult and hazardous, and faced the tests of weather and erosion from battering rains, rushing gullies, and soft red earth that turned to quagmire during the twice-annual rains. Roads

were improving and railways were expanding, but problems remained. Flight overcame all that — one might say overpassed it – in the process of annihilating time and distance. With the advantages of flight, tourists in East Africa could fly over the region's difficult topography in a short amount of time. Planes could supply camps and deliver mail to the bush. Skillful pilots could even spot game and alert the safari party by radio to opportunities for sport over the next hill. Flight and East Africa's safari industry seemed to be a match made in heaven, and the leaders of the industry were quick to exploit developments in this new transport technology.

The advent of flight in East Africa occurred in two separate but parallel phases. One of them, local and mainly private in nature, involved Kenyan residents and small regional air-travel companies that flew cross-country flights within East Africa itself. The other involved the decades-long effort by the British government and major airline companies to establish civilian air routes to, from, and across Africa. Both traced their origins to developments that occurred during and after the First World War. A few British air services had taken to the skies before 1914 (including one in September 1910 in connection with the coronation of King George V), but it was primarily the First World War that precipitated the formation of an airline industry that served various parts of the British Empire. The Air Transport and Travel Company was established in Britain in October 1916. The British Air Ministry was created in 1917. The government announced its intention the same year to form a Civil Aerial Transport Committee. The Royal Flying Corps, founded in 1912 as part of the British Army, merged with the Royal Naval Air Service in 1918 to form the Royal Air Force. The following year, the Air Ministry of the British government founded the Department of Civil Aviation, began licensing pilots, and announced a prize contest for civil aircraft design.[1032]

[1032] Robin Higham, *Britain's Imperial Air Routes, 1918 to 1939: The Story of Britain's Overseas Airlines* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1960), pp. 20-26.

The first major development to follow upon these preliminary steps occurred in 1924 with the foundation of Imperial Airways, a monopoly company formed out of a merger of five British air transport companies.[1033] All of the early British air transport companies had struggled financially; a pilots' strike in the early 1920s had added to their financial problems; by February 1921 the companies had ceased operations, to be resumed only gradually.[1034] The leading cause of financial difficulties, before 1924 and for several years after, was that British airline companies simply could not compete financially with continental European airlines that were generously subsidized by their respective national governments. It was for this reason in 1926 that Imperial Airways began abandoning its routes in Europe, which lost money, and concentrating instead on imperial routes where it could fly without European competition. The new monopoly airline also enjoyed financial support from the British government, though on a more limited scale than its competitors in Europe.

The earliest pioneering flights in East Africa had occurred earlier and provided a foundation upon which Imperial Airways could build. Attempts began immediately after the war to test the feasibility of an air route between Cairo and Cape Town, a twentieth-century version of Cecil Rhodes's Cape-to-Cairo route that would connect Britain's African territories and provide a valuable means of transport and communication for far-flung parts of the empire. Five attempts were made on the route in 1920 and many test flights continued throughout the decade, investigating potential routes as well as testing new aircraft technologies. Many of the pioneering flights were spearheaded by the British government's quest to secure the ties of empire through the establishment of both air-mail and civilian routes.

[1033] Ibid, 29. The companies that formed the nucleus of Imperial Airways were Aircraft Transport and Travel, Handley Page Transport, Instone Air Line, Daimler Airway, and the British Air Navigation Company.
[1034] Ibid, p. 42.

These services for air-mail and civilian transport were introduced in stages in the late twenties and early thirties. In 1926 the Royal Air Force joined the quest to map out a civil air route from Cairo to the Cape, while the Colonial Office began examining the feasibility of a regular air-mail service in 1927.[1035] Imperial Airways began to study the route in 1928 and offered proposals the following year. Once the details were settled and the British government agreed to contribute finances to the African services, Imperial Airways (Africa), Ltd. was registered as a private company in June 1929.[1036] In October 1930, an agreement was reached between the government of the United Kingdom and Imperial Airways, Ltd. "to operate an efficient and regular air service for the transport of passengers, mails, and freight" between Alexandria or Cairo and Cape Town.[1037] In February 1931, Imperial Airways began a weekly service between the United Kingdom and Central Africa. The first service between the Cape to London via East Africa began in 1932.[1038] The potential was grasped immediately, not least owing to the eagerness of Kenya-bound travellers. The section of the route from Cairo to East Africa was often so overbooked in 1932 that it prevented Imperial Airways from booking through traffic to the Cape. The residents of East Africa clamored for the service to be doubled.[1039] By the mid 1930s, Imperial Airways flew twice weekly from London to Nairobi via Europe and North Africa, a journey of six days that cost £196 for round-trip fare.[1040] Those traveling from the east, including officers of the Indian Army and maharajahs from India, could fly from Calcutta to Nairobi in nine or ten days for a cost of £149 round-trip.

[1035] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (Runnymede Malthouse, 1994), pp. 5-6.
[1036] Robin Higham, *Britain's Imperial Air Routes, 1918 to 1939: The Story of Britain's Overseas Airlines* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1960), p. 154.
[1037] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (Runnymede Malthouse, 1994), pp. 12-13.
[1038] Robin Higham, *Britain's Imperial Air Routes, 1918 to 1939* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1960), p. 81.
[1039] Ibid, p. 158.
[1040] *Travel in East Africa: Cook's Handbook for Kenya Colony, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar* (London: Thos. Cook & Son, 1936), p. 54.

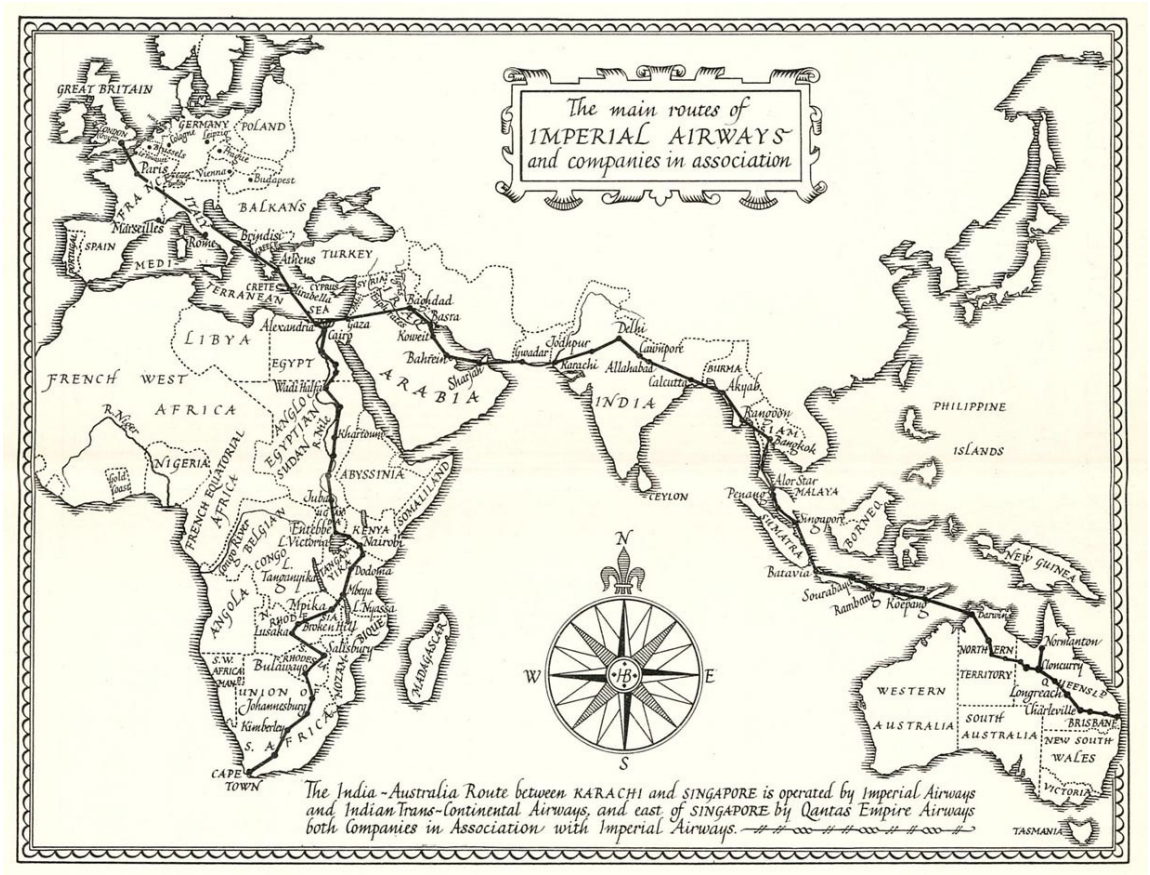

Figure 6: The main routes of Imperial Airways, c. 1935. Note the route through Africa via Nairobi.[1041]

One of the major issues confronting airline companies in these early years concerned the construction of costly aerodromes along the route. Nominally it was the responsibility of territorial governments to construct local infrastructure, but Imperial Airways and other lines could not expand their services without facilities on the ground. The parties concerned reached a series of compromises that allowed the air routes to be expanded. First, colonial governments paid for the cost of aerodromes along the route (£47,300 from Kenya, £10,600 from Tanganyika, and £21,500 from Northern Rhodesia), but each received a grant from the Colonial

[1041] Source: Wikimedia Commons. The image was made available to the public domain at <http://www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/complete/iaw35aus/iaw35u-3.jpg>.

Development Fund in London to cover the expenditures.[1042] Second, local airlines, such as Wilson Airways in Kenya, became feeders of Imperial Airways and partners in the expansion of air services, rather than competitors. This complementary relationship allowed the larger Imperial Airways flights to carry passengers and mail along the principal empire-wide trunk routes, from which Wilson and other small carriers could dispatch regional flights.

Third, Imperial Airways proposed in 1934 to build up its Empire Air Mail Scheme (which consumed much of the company's flight capacities) with new C-class Empire "flying boats" that would eliminate the need for the costly enlargement of aerodromes. Imperial Airway's flying boats, introduced in 1935, became well known to the world through the company's picturesque color advertisements depicting the new age of travel in exotic locales. With facilities for flying boats along the whole length of the route from Cairo, it was possible for two empire boats to cover 4,700 miles from Cairo to Durban, South Africa in just over forty hours.[1043] Flying boats were not an entirely satisfactory solution. Their routes were determined largely by the availability of bodies of water on which to land and take off, which meant that travelers to Nairobi would have to fly via Egypt to Lake Naivasha, and then by car or small plane fifty miles to Nairobi. Where Imperial Airways could not or did not fly, Wilson Airways usually established short-service connecting flights around East Africa, including the Kenya shore of Lake Victoria, Kisumu, Kitale, Eldoret, Nakuru, Nanyuki, Nyeri, and Nairobi.[1044]

[1042] Robin Higham, *Britain's Imperial Air Routes, 1918 to 1939* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1960), p. 161.
[1043] Ibid, pp. 203-04.
[1044] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (Runnymede Malthouse, 1994), p. 31.

Illustration 46: Wilson Airways advertisement, circa 1932.

In the meantime, local residents of East Africa made their own strides in air transport, turning the country into a testing ground for new equipment and methods. Private innovation in flight undoubtedly gained impetus from necessity – the remote location of many farms and bad roads throughout the country made flight an obvious answer for many settlers, particularly those of a higher class who could afford the luxury. The first airplane was imported to East Africa in 1926 for the princely sum of £5,035.[1045] Several individuals – including John Evans Carberry, Tom Campbell Black, A.W. "Archie" Watkins – pioneered flights in the region, often with new and untried equipment. These ventures resulted in July 1929 in the creation of

[1045] *Annual Trade Report of Kenya and Uganda: For the Year ended 31st December, 1926*. By E.G. Bale (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 86.

Wilson Airways, with Mrs. Kerr-Wilson as proprietor and chairman, Tom Campbell Black as chief pilot and manager, C.W.F. Wood as pilot, and Archie Watkins as chief engineer.[1046] By October of that year, Wilson Airways made its first long-haul flight from Nairobi to England to enable an American, H.A. White of the Chicago Field Museum, to accomplish a safari in a short time. Other Wilson Airways flights in the 1930s carried the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Kent, and American millionaires including the Vanderbilts.[1047] The small bi-planes of Wilson Airways flew ad hoc charters wherever the client wished to fly – including hunting fields, farms, and mines – provided a landing strip could be cleared.

Despite the early successes and lasting influence of Wilson Airways (including an airport in Nairobi that still bears the name), there was also a growing market in the 1930s for local pilots to offer freelance services to individuals going on safari. The most famous pilot to fly over Kenya is probably the aviatrix Beryl Markham, a British-born Kenyan famous for becoming the first woman to complete a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean. In the 1930s Markham worked as a free-lance pilot, using the Muthaiga Country Club as her headquarters. Business was good largely because roads were bad, Markham explained:

> Even in nineteen-thirty-five it wasn't easy to get a plane in East Africa and it was almost impossible to get very far across country without one. There were roads, of course, leading in a dozen directions out of Nairobi. They started out boldly enough, but grew narrow and rough after a few miles and dwindled into the rock-studded hills, or lost themselves in a morass of red mural mud or black cotton soil, in the flat country and the valleys. On a map they look sturdy and incapable of deceit, but to have ventured from Nairobi south toward Machakos or Magadi in anything less formidable than a moderately powered John Deere tractor was optimistic to the point of sheer whimsy, and the road to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan… called 'practicable' in the dry season, had, when I last used it after a mild rain, an adhesive quality equal to that of the most prized black treacle.[1048]

[1046] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (1993), p. 20.
[1047] Ibid, p. 22.
[1048] Beryl Markham, *West with the Night* (London: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 4-5.

The more travelled roads, she explained, were good and often paved for a distance, but once the pavement ended, an airplane "could save hours of weary toil behind the wheel of a lurching car."[1049] "My plane, though only a two-seater, was busy most of the time in spite of competition from the then barely budding East African [established in 1946] — not to say the bull-blown Wilson — Airways."[1050] Denys Finch Hatton was another avid proponent of flight and its possibilities for use in connection with safaris. He had begun to make a business out of game-spotting from the air before he died in a tragic flying accident in 1931. Among the major customers of these chartered and freelance flights were, of course, big-game hunters on safari. A small airplane was an ideal supplement to the luxury safari. For hunters short of time but flush with cash, aircraft offered a fast and easy means of transporting people to the bush. Aircraft could likewise transport supplies of all kinds, including fresh meals from the city, liquor if it ran short, and other luxury items the client wished to have.

Not everyone shared Markham and Finch Hatton's enthusiasm for airplanes in connection with safaris, however. As we saw in Chapter 5, the Game Departments had restricted all hunting from aircraft in 1931, but it was difficult to implement similar restrictions on game-spotting and other flight activities that disturbed game or provided hunters with unfair advantages.[1051] Debates over the matter persisted through most of the 1930s. Many professional hunters agreed with G.H. Anderson's assessment that using planes to spot elephant, and cutting paths in the bush for landing strips, was "destroying the spirit of the sport."[1052] Philip Percival agreed that the "matter had gone too far." Both the EAPHA and the

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[1049] Ibid, p. 6.
[1050] Ibid, p. 6.
[1051] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1931" (A.T.A. Ritchie), pp. 14-15. *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983).
[1052] Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the EAPHA, 25 March 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.

Kenya Game Department considered that planes were legitimate and in fact desirable for aiding transport and moving supplies across the difficult terrain of East Africa, but that restrictions must be placed – and continually improved – to prevent aircraft from disturbing game and damaging the practice of their sport. One client, Lord Furness, had spent about £11,000 in the country during his safari with Bror Blixen, during which he made extensive use of airplanes. The EAPHA admitted that "if the use of aeroplanes were prohibited [Lord Furness] might decide not to come again."[1053] Money clearly influenced decisions. But so, too, did concern for proper sport. The EAPHA resolved, after further discussion, that "this Association disapproves of the use of aeroplanes in spotting game and urges all its members to discourage clients from using aeroplanes for such a purpose."[1054] Of course, nothing could prevent a pilot en route to a safari camp from flying in the direction of a herd of animals to get a better look.

Flight endeavors by local pilots as well as commercial airlines benefited from the steady advance of aircraft technology in the 1930s. One of the key breakthroughs came with the introduction of the twin-engine aircraft in the early part of the decade. Those used most commonly in connection with East Africa were the De Havilland DH84 Dragons and their successors, first introduced in 1932, relatively fast, twin-propeller planes that were favored by pilots for their safety and ease of use. As one flight historian writes of the innovation: "Never before had it been possible to carry eight passengers so economically with such an increase in operating safety… [T]his aircraft was the first airliner able to provide its owners with the opportunity to derive real profit from its operation in an era when air transport relied heavily upon subsidy."[1055] The DH84 was followed by the DH89 Dragon Rapide in 1934, and the less successful DH90 Dragonfly in 1935.

[1053] Minutes of a Meeting of the EAPHA, 30 June 1937. Box 16, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1054] Ibid.
[1055] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (Runnymede Malthouse, 1994), p. 26.

These developments in air transport were solidified toward the end of the 1930s. In 1936, British Airways was accepted as a second "chosen instrument" of the British government, allowing Imperial Airways to concentrate on empire routes.[1056] The British government increased subsidies. Both British and Imperial Airways ordered new De Havilland Albatrosses, improving speed and timetables. On the 29th of June, 1937, the British government inaugurated a subsidized Empire Air Mail program that vastly increased the volume of mail sent overseas and thus, by extension, the number of flights needed to carry it. Under the terms of the program, a first class letter could be sent anywhere in the Empire at a flat postage rate of one and a half pence per half ounce, and only a penny for postcards. Empire-wide, the volume of airmail letters increased dramatically from 212,380 in 1931 to 34 million in 1936.[1057] Wilson Airways handled all the East African mail on a twice-weekly connection with Imperial Airways at Kisumu. This indirect subsidy of Wilson allowed the company to increase its fleet to sixteen.

By far the most significant event, however, occurred in May 1938, when stockholders of Imperial Airways agreed to sell their company. British Airways stockholders followed suit the next month. This cleared the way for the introduction of the British Overseas Airways Corporation bill, which was introduced on the 12th of June and became an Act of Parliament in July 1939. The British Overseas Airways Corporation took over from older companies (mainly Imperial Airways and British Airways) in April 1940 as a monopoly company that enjoyed more generous government backing. Civilian air transport services in East Africa, having been pioneered since the First World War and placed on solid footing in the 1930s, was poised to

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[1056] Robin Higham, *Britain's Imperial Air Routes, 1918 to 1939* (Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press, 1960), p. 242.
[1057] Peter J. Davis, *East African: An Airline Story* (Runnymede Malthouse, 1994), p. 37.

take off, with new technology and better financial backing than ever, after the Second World War ended in 1945.

Illustration 47: Imperial Airways advertisement, circa 1934.

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The third major development in the 1930s that influenced the future of the safari tourism industry concerned the preliminary steps toward the establishment of national parks and reserves in East Africa. National parks had been upheld as an ultimate aim of British conservation policy in Africa since the beginning of colonial rule. Yellowstone National Park, established in the U.S. territory of Wyoming in 1872, served as an especially potent example to British conservationists of how a large "wild" area could be set aside before the

encroachments of human development threatened its fauna and flora. Such ideas were frequently expressed in correspondence connected to the international conference on game preservation held in London in 1900. At the time, however, particularly in Kenya, which was being opened for settlement, practical concerns favored the creation of reserves and protected areas with limited hunting, rather than national parks that banned hunting completely. In subsequent decades conservationists would never cease to call for the creation of national parks in Africa, but, as a matter of official policy, the idea was suspended for the next several decades.

By the 1930s, the impetus to establish national parks in Britain's East African territories was given a new urgency by the increase of settlement and economic development, the advent of new technologies and methods of hunting, the dwindling number of animals in certain treasured game lands, and the growing number of tourists visiting the region to witness its wildlife attractions. The first major steps that laid the foundations for postwar conservation policy occurred in a succession of conferences in the early 1930s. In 1930, Kenya hosted a Game Conference that A.T.A. Ritchie called "perhaps the most important event there has ever been in the history of game preservation in Kenya."[1058] It was presided over by Sir Edward Grigg, the governor of Kenya, and examined game policy in all its aspects. Among the attendees of the conference was Major R.W.G. Hingston, who was making a comprehensive tour of East and Central Africa on behalf of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, and under the aegis of the Colonial Office. It was at this conference that Hingston, with broad support from the attendees, championed "the creation of national parks in Africa."[1059]

[1058] "Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1930" (A.T.A. Ritchie). *Annual Departmental Reports Relating to Kenya and the East Africa High Commission 1903/4-1963,* Edited by H.F. Morris (England: Microform Limited, 1983), p. 24.
[1059] Ibid.

Hingston's proclamation was only a first step. In 1931, at a congress held in Paris, the British government agreed to consider conservation policy, including national parks, at a future international conference that would include representatives of imperial London, continental European nations, and African territorial governments. The outcome was the International Conference for the Preservation of the Fauna and Flora of Africa, held in London in October 1933, "an event of first-class importance to game preservation."[1060] This conference resulted in the International Convention of 1933 for the Protection of Fauna and Flora, which proclaimed national parks as an official aim of conservation policy in Britain's African territories.[1061] The main object of the Convention was "to secure the setting aside, in every territory in Africa where there is a considerable indigenous fauna and flora, of areas which shall in perpetuity… harbour in a natural and primitive state examples of the wild life of the territory; such areas to be known as National Parks or Strict Natural Reserves."[1062] The conference hoped that establishing national parks would "secure the universal institution throughout Africa" of game preservation. The Convention was ratified by the United Kingdom and Belgium representing their African territories, and by the governments of South Africa, Egypt, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. France and Italy gave effect to many of the Convention's recommendations by the end of the 1930s, and the Netherlands applied some of them outside Africa.[1063]

Once the establishment of national parks had been proclaimed as an aim of policy, it remained simply to work out the details and secure agreements with local authorities. Kenya

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[1060] *Game Department Annual Report [Kenya], 1932, 1933, and 1934*, A.T.A. Ritchie (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1935).
[1061] For relevant files on the International Conference for the Preservation of Fauna and Flora of Africa and the conventions that resulted, see for example: KW/8/28; and KW/8/29 at the Kenya National Archives.
[1062] Ibid.
[1063] "Kenya Game Park Difficulties: Mentioned at London Conference on African Wild Life," *East African Standard,* 31 May 1938. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.

in the 1930s produced an outpouring of articles, letters to the editor, and resolutions in support of national parks from a wide variety of individuals, groups, and organizations, among which the representatives of the safari industry figured prominently. While the aesthetic and scientific concern to save wildlife ranked first as the motive behind the push for national parks, many sought to emphasize the economic gains to the tourism industry. It is a telling indication of how far this campaign had progressed by 1939 that the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, a body concerned with promoting commercial interests, published an open letter to the government to state the Chamber's official resolution (and "urgent desire") that "Government and the local authorities be urged to take immediate steps to achieve the establishment of a national game park of adequate size near Nairobi."[1064]

Establishing national parks near Nairobi (and elsewhere) was "no idle idea," the letter concluded, "since it has been so repeatedly urged upon the people of Nairobi by visitors and tourists to lose no time in developing and safeguarding what must always be an asset of increasing significance."[1065] The Chamber's letter indicates that wildlife tourism had become a major economic interest for a wide variety of commercial concerns, not just the aim of safari companies and conservationists with a long-standing vested interest in national parks. As a letter to the *Sunday Post* summed it up the day after the Chamber's open letter: "The arguments put forward by the businessmen who speak for the Chamber of Commerce are naturally based on the financial benefits that would follow, the increase of tourist traffic and consequent 'bringin in of money' to Nairobi."[1066]

The government, already committed in principle, increasingly acted in practice. In the late 1930s, Kenya established a Game Policy Committee that was charged with the task of

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[1064] "Nairobi Game Park First: Chamber's Request to Government," *East African Standard,* 27 May 1939. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1065] Ibid.
[1066] Unsigned Letter to the Editor, *Sunday Post,* 28 May 1939. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.

making recommendations on the selection, constitutions, and establishment of parks in Kenya. In a bill passed just before the outbreak of war, this Committee called for Kenya's national parks to be established as vast wildlife reserves, which would be closed to hunting and set aside permanently on the model of national parks that had been established in South Africa and the United States and elsewhere throughout the world. The committee issued its first report on national parks in 1942, concentrating mainly on the future of the area that became Nairobi National Park.[1067] Then, in 1945, Kenya passed a comprehensive National Parks Ordinance that would serve as the framework for the establishment and administration of all national parks in Kenya.[1068] Along with national parks, Kenya also laid plans for the creation of "reserves," special areas that limited hunting and made provisions for the protection of wildlife, but were defined as areas "where the reasonable needs of the human inhabitants, living within the area, must take precedence" over the preservation of wildlife and nature.[1069] Despite the enormous tasks of setting aside large tracts of land, delineating boundaries, accommodating animal migrations, and reconciling numerous conflicting interests, including those of the indigenous inhabitants, a legislative framework for national parks had been established and public opinion aroused, both in Kenya and overseas.

Events moved swiftly after 1945. The policies gaining momentum in the 1930s bore fruit for the first time in December 1946, when Kenya officially gazetted the Nairobi National Park. It was followed by the Tsavo National Park and Gedi National Park in April 1948; the Marsabit National Reserve in September 1948; Amboseli, West Chyulu and Mara National Reserves in November 1948; the Olorgesailie National Park in February 1949; the Tsavo Road

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[1067] Royal National Parks of Kenya, *Report, 1946-1950* (Nairobi: June 1951), p. 8. KNA: MSS/115/43/2.
[1068] National Parks Ordinance of 1945. KNA: AG/31/23. The original ordinance was followed by many amendments and additional ordinances.
[1069] Royal National Parks of Kenya, *Report, 1946-1950* (Nairobi: June 1951), p. 2. Kenya National Archives: MSS/115/43/2.

and Railway National Reserve in August 1949; Ngong National Reserve in September 1949; the Mount Kenya National Park in December 1949; and the Aberdare National Park in May 1950.[1070] Contemporaneous and complementary legislative acts were moving forward in Tanganyika and Uganda, the most noteworthy being the transition of the Serengeti from a Reserve to a National Park in 1951. Taking the region as a whole, by 1952 no fewer than 28,500 square miles of the region's approximate 680,000 square miles of land had been devoted to establishing fourteen national parks and reserves.[1071] More would follow. It was one of the highest concentrations of land set aside in a national parks system to be found anywhere in the world, all achieved in the space of a few years. Framers of the policies and those who supported them in the press celebrated the contributions to wildlife conservation, of course, but they also expected the national parks to pay their own way owing to the great natural attractions they preserved in perpetuity. "Ultimately," the East African Tourist Travel Association wrote in 1948, the region "will find itself with National Parks second to none in the world in extent and diversity of interest – a development which cannot but have a most favorable effect on the tourist industry."[1072]

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These promising steps taken under the trying conditions of the Depression to form professional associations, introduce flight services, and establish national parks were cut short by the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. Tourism activity did not cease immediately, however. In a sense, from the tourism industry's point of view, the entire decade had been one of unrelenting crisis in one part of the world or another, and war clouds had loomed on the horizon for much of that time. Quite apart from the Depression itself, the

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[1070] Ibid.
[1071] *Fifth Annual Report, 1952,* East African Tourist Travel Association. KNA: AWS/3/94.
[1072] *First Annual Report, 1948,* EATTA. KNA: AWS/3/94.

Japanese had begun their invasion of Manchuria in 1931. The Nazi Party had come to power in Germany in 1933. Closer to East Africa, the Abyssinia Crisis of 1934 had shaken the stability of the continent and raised the ominous prospect of a European conflict extending into Africa. E.C. Mills, a member of the EAPHA, thought in 1936 that "the coming hunting season… does not look too promising on account of the war-clouds," and J.M. Silvester, the Secretary of the Association, repeated the sentiment in 1938 that "things in the hunting world are, at the moment, rather slack" owing to the ominous potential for war.[1073]

And yet, in spite of this, it was not immediately apparent that the conflict that broke out in September 1939 would become the total war now familiar to history. During the eight-month "phoney war" between October 1939 and April 1940, purveyors of the safari held out optimism that the flow of tourists would continue despite global tensions. An April 1940 article in the *East African Standard,* sponsored by the EAPHA, announced that "American visitors will be welcome" during the war, and Ritchie, the Game Warden, said he had managed to get government to guarantee the provision of petrol for visitors.[1074] Many enquiries continued to come into the EAPHA, particularly from South America and the princely states of India. The safari industry was also banking on a continued flow of visitors from the United States, which up to that time showed little interest in joining the fray.

Yet only a year later the war had taken a serious turn for the worse following Hitler's conquest of France and decision to wage an air campaign against Britain in the summer and autumn of 1940. As the British Empire mobilized for war, virtually all professional hunters in East Africa began "guiding troops" in the Army "instead of safaris in East Africa," as the

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[1073] E.C. Mills to J.M. Silvester, 19 March 1936. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA;* and J.M. Silvester to Captain T. Murray Smith, 17 November 1938. Box 8, *Records of the EAPHA*.
[1074] "Safari Parties in War Time: American Visitors Will Be Welcome," *East African Standard,* 8 April 1940. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.

subtitle of one article read.[1075] Only the older members of the profession and a few non-British settlers did not see military service. Meanwhile, the war intensified in all of the Western countries from which tourists hailed and this, combined with the situation in East Africa, sent the industry into abeyance for the duration of hostilities.

In retrospect, these steps taken in the 1930s to form professional associations, establish national parks, and introduce flight to East Africa indicate that the safari tourism industry had reached a kind of maturity that laid the foundations for future success. After the war, the EAPHA presided over a vast expansion of the safari industry, the EATTA inaugurated ambitious new schemes to attract visitors, and breakthroughs in flight technology enabled ever-greater numbers of tourists to travel to the region relatively quickly and cheaply. The several dozen tourist hunters, the few hundred safari tourists, and the several thousand general tourist visitors who annually visited Kenya in the interwar years ballooned to 7,575 visitors in 1948, to 33,031 by 1952, and to over 60,000 by the end of the 1950s.[1076] Kenya's safari tourism industry was poised for an unprecedented expansion after the war and could not have pulled it off without the preparations made and the reputation established in the difficult but formative years between 1918 and 1939.

[1075] "Famous 'White Hunters' Join Army," *East African Standard,* 1 May 1941. Box 21, *Records of the EAPHA*.

[1076] East Africa Tourist Travel Association, *Fifth Annual Report, 1952*. Kenya National Archives: AWS/3/94; and EATTA Statistical Abstracts, KNA: AWS/3/8.

Conclusion

It is hard to mistake the distinctive imagery of the "safari." The word has become synonymous with wildlife tourism in Africa, and is occasionally used to describe adventures in the wild places of other regions around the world, particularly in the tropics. Usage of the word typically evokes images of splendid African wildlife, beautiful scenery, and distinctive costumes from the Edwardian and interwar years consisting of khaki, pith helmets, and pocketed bush jackets, still occasionally worn today by tourists of a nostalgic mind. Many of these images, of course, come from popular cultural representations in books, magazines, and films, particularly from the safari-themed motion-pictures produced by Hollywood from the 1930s through the 1960s. Like James Bond, the Marlboro Man, and Wild West cowboys, the safari evokes particularly cultural types as well, personified by the mythical, masculine, strong-jawed "white hunter." These images and ideas are no less powerful for having originated in a bygone age. The African safari is still regarded as the pinnacle of the world's big-game hunting experiences. There is now a "safari chic" style that extends from décor and interior design to accessories and clothing styles sold by major brands. Disney has made the safari a major feature of its amusement park attractions. The music video of Taylor Swift's 2015 song, "Wildest Dreams," is replete with safari imagery drawn from interwar Kenya, which suggest the setting and film-sets of Martin and Osa Johnson's endeavors in the 1920s and 1930s.[1077] The world's most valuable brand, Apple, Inc., named its proprietary web browser "Safari," suggesting that users are not only treated to a *journey* into the world of information, but also to an *adventure* undertaken for personal gratification – a dual usage of the term that would have pleased the tourist promoters described in the pages of this dissertation.

[1077] See, for example, a recent critique of the video by Matthew Carotenuto, "Taylor Swift's White Colonial Romance," *JSTOR Daily* (Sept. 23, 2015) http://daily.jstor.org/taylor-swift-white-colonial-romance/ [accessed October 15, 2015].

This study is concerned only obliquely with the etymology of the term safari, and even less with the popular cultural representations that have made the word ubiquitous across the West. Yet the prevalence of images and ideas associated with the safari emphasize the significance of what unfolded in Africa during the first half of the twentieth century, largely in one particular region of eastern Africa where the term originated and was mainly used. It was during this period between 1900 and 1939 that the old Arabic-Swahili term "safari," originally used to denote a caravan journey, became the preferred label for an adventure in pursuit of wild animals. This shift began to occur shortly after 1900 owing to a confluence of developments unfolding in a relatively small region of equatorial eastern Africa called the British East Africa Protectorate, known after 1920 as Kenya Colony – really in a region consisting of Nairobi and its hinterland, which meant in practice some areas, such as the Serengeti, that lay outside the formal political boundaries of Kenya but easily within range of Nairobi.

It was hardly an accident that the safari emerged as a form of tourism at the precise moment that imperial expansion in Africa was reaching its peak. Tourists at the turn of the century, most of them from the English-speaking West and imbued with the attitudes of the age, expected certain amenities and a veneer of security in the lands to which they traveled. The conditions needed for the rise of a tourism industry were furnished in East Africa by the establishment of British colonial rule in the 1880s and 1890s. By the turn of the century, an ambitious and costly railway project financed by the British government was snaking its way across the hinterland of East Africa, providing tourists with a means of transport as well as facilitating the internal development of the territory. Colonial administrators, eager to make the railway pay, increasingly encouraged white settlement as a means of promoting the physical and economic development of the Protectorate. Nairobi and other towns sprang up with astonishing rapidity, buoyed by the arrival of settlers and the advent of a cash economy. Roads,

hotels, outfitters, taxidermists, and a variety of tourists enterprises emerged in the new territory and provided the basic infrastructure for the region's growing tourism industry.

It did not take long for word to spread far and wide that the British East Africa Protectorate was a paradise for the sportsman and settler, a land blessed with a delightful and relatively disease-free climate, seemingly fertile soil, game in extraordinary abundance, and plentiful opportunities for enjoying the "country" life then becoming hard for aristocrats in Britain to maintain. Wealthy visitors going on safari first trickled and then flooded into the new territory, contributing to the rise of a highly developed industry that provided the full range of tourist amenities. East Africa's natural advantages of abundant and varied wildlife, pleasant climate, and relatively easy accessibility, combined with the human advantages of infrastructure, security, and tourist amenities, gave the region numerous advantages over competing destinations and helped to solidify British East Africa as the premier destination of safari tourism in Africa for the entirety of the period under review.

Selling the African Wilds examines the period from 1900 to 1939 as a unified period of analysis – a formative phase in the development of the safari tourism industry that set the stage for success in the age of mass tourism to come. These crucial four decades of tourism development in East Africa are important not only because they encompass the origins of the modern safari industry, which still exists today, but also because during this time the industry achieved success that holds significance in its own right. Already by the outbreak of the First World War, the safari industry in British East Africa had become a leading sector of the regional economy, accounting for between £190,000 and £220,000 per year in expenditure, a tremendous economic windfall for a newly colonized region where the cash economy was less than one generation old. This growth carried into the interwar years. Despite the disruptions of the First World War, currency crises in the aftermath of the conflict, drought, plague, and the Great Depression, the safari industry maintained noteworthy economic performance in the

1920s and 1930s. Although outfitters and guides saw fewer sportsmen visiting the colony to hunt, the safari industry was able to carve out new spheres of activity by catering to photographic and film-making safaris, motorized tours, and other varieties of eco-friendly wildlife tourism that placed East Africa, and particularly Kenya, on the vanguard of Africa's emerging wildlife and nature tourism industries.

These new innovations, which extended the safari experience beyond the traditional big-game hunt, held the added advantage of allowing the industry to expand while reducing its toll on wildlife populations – a dynamic that ensured that development of the region's wildlife tourism industry would march lockstep with the wildlife conservation movement, in some cases being one and the same thing. If the success of wildlife tourism rested on the vitality of its wildlife populations, then it was imperative to ensure that animals existed to attract tourists in the future. From the point of view of the industry, it was all the better if the state could gain a share of the action and put the force of law behind the creation of permanent sanctuaries for the region's wildlife attractions, a project that began in earnest in the 1930s and would finally come into existence shortly after the Second World War. Compared to other parts of the world, the colonial state in Kenya was slow to get involved in its growing tourism industry, but in the realm of game policy it played an indirect but crucial role from the very beginning of the century.

The economic success of the safari industry was accompanied by the development of the commercial, institutional, and social apparatus of the industry. Hotels, supply stores, outfitters, taxidermists, clubs, and safari companies proliferated throughout the territory. Infrastructure steadily improved. Safari companies in particular established branch offices overseas and carried out advertising schemes that made the East African safari known across the world. Professional and publicity associations emerged to promote the industry and foster its commercial, professional, and institutional organization. The campaign to protect the

region's wildlife in permanent national parks steadily gained momentum. Steamship companies increased their services to East Africa. Budding airline companies, enjoying financial support from the British and colonial governments, made East Africa's cities major hubs of regional and international air travel. Large international touring companies, such as Thomas Cook and Son, made Kenya one of its major attractions in Africa and advertised its tours aggressively in the West. The outcome was the development of an economic, cultural, and technological complex for attracting and accommodating tourists, the foundation of a large modern tourism industry that shaped East Africa's landscape, intensified interactions between distant locales, and left a lasting imprint on the culture and economy of Kenya.

These successes prepared the ground for a tremendous expansion of the industry after 1945. Having been the first region of the continent to develop a wildlife tourism industry and pioneer the familiar style of the safari, Kenya came to enjoy a deep pool of experienced professionals, a well developed commercial and institutional apparatus, and a reputation known across the world. At the same time, the longstanding existence of this industry in Kenya ensured that new infrastructure tended to be tailored – or at least adapted – to the needs of wildlife tourism, further consolidating Kenya's advantages as a destination for visitors. Until 1939, indeed somewhat beyond, an African safari meant specifically a Kenyan safari of the kind pioneered in Nairobi. Meanwhile, the images of African wildlife seen across the world in books, photographs, and films almost invariably originated in Kenya on an expedition that was organized, guided, and assisted by a dedicated safari outfitting company – a source of profit for the industry as well as free and invaluable publicity.

The corollary to this economic success was that an industry that developed partly (if not largely) on the strength of its connection to Britain's empire-wide networks entailed a certain number of imperial legacies that are difficult even today to escape. If imperial rule brought infrastructure and security to East Africa, it also introduced social, racial, political, and

economic inequalities enshrined in the laws of British colonial Kenya. If the arrival of white settlers brought tourist amenities and accounted for the earliest commercial endeavors concerned with tourism, it also meant that indigenous Africans were largely excluded from ownership and management of the industry, forced to work in subsidiary roles that were poorly paid and largely unheralded, despite the essential labor and expertise that Africans contributed to the safari industry. And if the game laws of colonial Kenya tended to protect wildlife for the future enjoyment of wealthy visitors, they also entailed the exclusion of the lower orders, including especially the original inhabitants of the land.

The story of the safari and its erstwhile heroes has been told many thousands of times by journalists, newspapermen, memoirists, participants, and a few historians mainly of amateur status. The objective of this study has been to collate existing knowledge of the safari, to connect it to the historical development of tourism (a topic that generally has been treated separately), and to demonstrate as far as possible the nature and extent of the safari's economic success *as an industry* that became the forerunner of modern wildlife tourism in East Africa. This dissertation thus provides an account – based on an abundance of new archival materials and a series of novel economic assessments – of the origins and development of East Africa's safari tourism industry, demonstrating that what occurred in the first four decades of the twentieth century held great significance for the economic, social, and political development of Kenya. Ultimately it represents only the first chapter of the story.

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